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# PROS AND CONS

A NEWSPAPER READER'S AND DEBATER'S  
GUIDE TO THE LEADING CON-  
TROVERSIES OF THE DAY

(POLITICAL, SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS, ETC.)

By

JOHN BERTRAM ASKEW

Third Impression of the Fifth Edition, Rewritten  
and Enlarged by

W. T. SWAN SONNENSCHIEIN, M.A. (Oxon).

OF THE INNER TEMPLE

FELLOW OF BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD

WITH MANY NEW ARTICLES AND A COMPLETE INDEX



LONDON

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, LIMITED

NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO

TORONTO: THE MUSSON BOOK COMPANY, LTD



H83

A8

1914

\* \* \*

**FIRST EDITION**, April, 1896; *New Impression*, June, 1896.

**SECOND EDITION** (Revised and Enlarged), June, 1897; *New Impressions*: April, 1899; December, 1900; February, 1903.

**THIRD EDITION** (Revised, with a New Appendix), July, 1903; *New Impression* (with an article on Preferential Tariffs), October, 1903.

**FOURTH EDITION** (Rewritten and Enlarged), by A. M. HYAMSON, April, 1906; *New Impressions*: May, 1908; October, 1909; May, 1910.

**FIFTH EDITION** (Rewritten and Enlarged), by W. T. SWAN SONNENSCHN, M.A. (Oxon.), July, 1911; *New Impression*, April, 1912.  
*Third Impression*, July, 1914.

## PREFACE

THE object of this little book is to place in the hands of the every day reader and debater, in as fair and impartial a manner as may be possible, a concise, yet more or less comprehensive, statement of the opposing arguments advanced by the partisans of the several rival schools or theories which are at the present day striving to catch the ear of the public, whether in social, political, or religious spheres.

When we consider the enormous increase in the controversial literature of the last few years, and the number of the battles that are being fought out to-day in the pages of books, reviews, and newspapers, it seems likely that a work which digests and epitomizes all this floating and scattered material should, if properly executed, be of real service as an *aide-mémoire* to the casual inquirer, to the newspaper reader, and perhaps, incidentally, to the serious student of sociology, though the book is not sufficiently full or elaborate to be of service to the specialist in his own department. I cannot hope that the present volume is perfect; but I believe it to be trustworthy, as far as it goes, great care having been given adequately to represent the chief points in each subject, and the attitude taken up with respect to them by each side.

My choice of subjects has been, I have no doubt, somewhat arbitrary. I can only say that arbitrariness is involved in the very conception of the book. It is, I am convinced, impossible to draw a hard and fast line as to what subjects should be admitted, and the rule adopted has been to admit such subjects only as seemed likely to interest any considerable section of the

public. The subjects are not necessarily treated of in a degree of length that is at all relative to their respective importance. Here the rule adopted has been to treat them in such detail as seemed consistent with a due presentation of both aspects of the case.

I must express my obligation to Mr. Sydney Buxton, whose excellent *Handbook to Political Questions* has been of great service to me, for those subjects with which he deals. These, however, are comparatively few; and I am mainly indebted, for much help and advice, to a number of ladies and gentlemen who are recognized authorities in their own several fields of controversy. I have sought, and nearly always obtained, help from all sides, and must here content myself with merely expressing my gratitude generally; individual recognition would be too lengthy, and indeed, would in some cases—those, moreover, in which I am most deeply indebted—be against the expressed wishes of the contributors.

J. B. A.

London, 1896.

The present edition is in many respects a new work. The Pros and Cons have been put in parallel columns throughout, and the Pros and Cons of the same number deal with the same aspect of the question under consideration. They do not always answer each other, but they are intended to give the retort (sometimes an argument, sometimes the *lie direct*, sometimes a mere *petitio principii*) which is offered by the one side to that particular contention of the other. This re-arrangement, which it is hoped will add considerably to the serviceableness of the book, has in itself been a work of no little labour. It should be added that where there is a \* attached to the number of a Pro (e.g. 25\*) or a † attached to the number of a Con (e.g. 25†), it means that such Pro or Con does not in any way correspond to the Pro or Con of the same number, and is not specifically answered.

Every article in the book has been carefully revised: in some

thirty cases more than half the article to be found in this edition was not in the old, whilst in addition there are over twenty entirely new articles. In order to make room for this new matter, some of the discussions no longer of living interest or dealing with questions that appear to have been settled have been excluded. Even so, the book is very considerably longer than hitherto. Room has, however, been found for a much more exhaustive index than has yet been given the book, and it is hoped that in future no difficulty can arise as to finding the matter required—whilst the index will render it a useful guide to ancillary subjects for debate or discussion.

Any criticisms or indications of errors, whether of omission or commission, will be thankfully received by me.<sup>1</sup>

W. T. S. S.

1, Temple Gardens,

May, 1911.

<sup>1</sup> Under cover to my publishers, Messrs. Geo. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.



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## ABSTINENCE, TOTAL

**Pro :** (1) The slight gratification afforded by indulgence in alcohol cannot weigh against the dangerous example it sets; for it is admitted that little that is noble and very much that is base has been done under its influence. Alcohol is the source of most of our pauperism and crime, thus leading to immense and unnecessary public expenditure and corresponding taxation. The Lord Chief Justice has said that 90 per cent. of crimes can be proved to be traceable to alcoholism either in the criminal or in his ancestors, and that in all probability the other 10 per cent. should be attributed to the same source.

(2) The liquor industry employs relatively few hands, and is *pro tanto* an enemy of the working classes. The country gains little, general commerce is scarcely benefited at all, and the working classes are "kept under" by the drink trade. Millions of bushels of grain are annually destroyed, which otherwise would be available for healthy food. In any event, the State should not raise its revenue out of the vices of its subjects.

(3) Alcohol is not a food, since it passes through the body in great measure without chemical change. The habit of taking it is always unnecessary and frequently deleterious to health. Animals drink nothing but water, and no child requires alcohol during the critical period of its life up to fifteen years, which are clear indications that man in a healthy state should not need it. Many hard-working men eschew it, and yet remain strong.

(4) The alcoholic *habitué* is greatly handicapped in illness; for while alcohol fails to act on him as a drug, many medicines cease wholly or in part to have their proper effect. Alcohol is a poison, useful, like other poisons, in its due place.

(5) The mortality rate of Total Abstainers is lower than that of Moderate Abstainers by some 26½ per cent. Some Life Insurance

**Con :** (1) The innocent gratification afforded by alcohol, especially to hard-working men and to manual labourers, is a distinct factor in the pleasures of their lives, and one that they should not be forced to forego. That its abuse is harmful no one can deny; but the true principle is to set an example of its right use, not to shirk responsibility by disuse. Moreover, the argument for self-sacrifice applies with equal validity to all pleasures: excess in everything is bad. Example, however, is rarely the cause of a drunken habit, which is due rather to the hardships and pressure of modern life: drunkenness is the effect rather than the cause of the problem it involves.

(2) The liquor industry employs a large number of hands. The national revenue derived from the beer trade is a very large annual sum, which our Exchequer could with difficulty spare; and, if spared, it would only be at the expense of general taxation. It is reasonable that alcohol consumers should pay their own taxation directly. If the millions of bushels were not wanted for the liquor trade, they would not be grown, or, if grown, the price for the grain crops would be still further reduced than at present.

(3) Alcohol is useful as a food: in moderation it has none of the ill effects commonly attributed to it. It interferes with no bodily function, nor does it lower the temperature (as often asserted). There is every reason to believe that its action is on the whole beneficial, and its stimulating and recuperative influence on an over-tired man is beyond dispute. It has been resorted to by all the most progressive and intellectually and physically active races of the world.

(4) The moderate drinker is sufficiently influenced by all ordinary drugs.

(5) The statistics are valueless, as they include drunkards. Such In-

Offices actually offer a considerable rebate to Total Abstainers.

(6) The alcohol habit is hereditary, and anything that increases the risks of a parent transmitting it to his offspring is a moral crime.

(7) The alcohol habit, once contracted, cannot easily be overcome. The national Drink Bill remains much the same in bad as in good times.

(8) There is always a danger that moderate drinkers will get into the habit. The moderate drinker does not set so good an example as the total abstainer.

(9) It is often the immediate cause of insanity.

(10) Where liberty leads to licence, and licence involves such enormous evils, the State is called upon to interfere by way of Prohibition.

(11) Prohibition has proved successful in many instances.

Insurance Companies as offer reduced premiums to Total Abstainers, do so mainly in competition and for the sake of advertisement.

(6) There is no reason to suppose that moderate drinking is hereditary; and, even if it were, no harm would be done.

(7) All unnecessary habits which are beyond one's control are evils; but there is no reason why the drink habit should not be properly regulated by each man for himself.

(8) The moderate drinker has more power to restrain drunkenness than the teetotaler; he is not looked upon at once as a Stiggins.

(9) Alcoholism is a symptom of a disordered brain, rather than a cause of madness.

(10) Prohibition would be a gross infringement of the liberty of the subject: it is better for a nation to be drunkards than slaves.

(11) Prohibition has not succeeded in suppressing illicit drinking, which is much worse than drinking in public places under the eye of the public authorities.

## ADULT SUFFRAGE

**Pro:** (1) Every adult member of the community has a right to share in its government, unless he has proved his unfitness by being a pauper, a lunatic, or a criminal.

(2) The more representative of every class in the community a Government becomes, the stronger it is.

(3) Every class has its own way of regarding political problems, and consequently each is able to add something to the discussion of a question. The low class of the population are in a very small minority: the great mass of those at present excluded from the vote are fairly prosperous people. There is nothing to prevent loafers and semi-criminals from voting now.

(4) Adult Suffrage would be the logical completion of Parliamentary Reform, and would leave nothing more to be agitated for in that direction.

(5) Those whom the present

**Con:** (1) No right to the Suffrage exists in any section of the community. The State in conferring the Suffrage must consider the interest of the community as a whole.

(2) The House of Commons already fully represents all sections of the community, and, as a matter of fact, Universal Suffrage would practically disfranchise all but the lowest (and most numerous) classes in the community.

(3) The better-educated classes have a much wider outlook, and are better able to consider problems apart from class considerations, than uneducated men. A low class of the population will receive an increased influence, and the "Public House" vote will become an element to be reckoned with.

(4) The Suffrage is cast quite low enough already. The argument that it should be extended in order that nothing more might be left for the working-classes to ask for is based

scheme would principally include would not be a really new class, but merely the younger generations, who are among the most intelligent members of the community.

(6) All are equally interested in good government; and political power, when vested in a fresh class, has a tendency to create a sense of responsibility in that class. Each successive extension of the franchise has been vigorously opposed at the time, but worked well afterwards.

(7) It would be better to grant Adult Suffrage freely than wait till it is forced from us.

(8) Electoral rights should represent persons, not property. Property and tenancy may serve as rough tests of citizenship for men: in the case of women they are absurdly inappropriate. An unmarried woman of the working class has not usually a dwelling to herself, the married working woman is rarely the occupier of the family dwelling in the legal sense, and cannot vote as her husband's lodger.

(9) Manhood Suffrage has been adopted in practically every constitutional monarchy.

(10) The acceptance of representative government implies the principle of Adult Suffrage. To shut out any class of persons from voting is to admit the right of part of the community to control the lives of the rest without consulting them. Adult Suffrage would abolish the anomalies of the present system, and lead to the adoption of the doctrine of "One Man One Vote" as the guiding principle of a democratic government.

(11) (Some) The long period of qualification for the vote at present in force shuts out workmen who move from place to place as their work leads them, and their movements largely depend on the state of trade. Depression of trade causes homes to be broken up, and lodgings to be taken instead of houses. If a workman falls into arrears of rates, he is disfranchised. Disfranchisement comes exactly at the time when the vote is most needed.

on a fallacy: the vote ought to be granted to a class solely on the grounds of its fitness to use it rightly.

(5) Those newly enfranchised under Adult Suffrage would naturally be the least-educated section of the community, or, if young men, be too liable to be carried away by their notions, owing to lack of experience, to be of much value as voters.

(6) The richer a man is, the greater his stake in the prosperity of the country. However well the previous extensions of the Suffrage may have turned out, it does not follow that this further extension would prove an equal success.

(7) The change is not wanted by any large section of the community.

(8) It is only fair that property should be represented, in view of the responsibilities attached to it and of the numerous schemes for confiscating all forms of it. In any case it is undesirable that women should have the vote. (See WOMEN SUFFRAGE.)

(9) Manhood Suffrage, where introduced, has by no means proved an unqualified success.

(10) Representative government does not imply the principle of Adult Suffrage. Under any existing form of representative government minorities have their lives controlled by majorities. The ideal of "One Man One Vote" is quite a distinct question, and can be obtained without having recourse to any such revolutionary measure as Adult Suffrage. As a matter of fact, it is certain to come quite independently to the extent of the present electorate in the form of an Act to abolish plural voting.

(11) The man who is frequently changing his address is in most cases a less responsible citizen than the man who stays in the same home; but even admitting that the present system by which a man is penalized for changing his home is inequitable, this again is no objection for Adult Suffrage, but is a defect which can be remedied quite independently.



(12) (Some) The receipt of parish relief should be no disqualification; every Civil List pensioner is in reality just as much a pauper. Nor should a conviction, for many innocent are convicted, and for every man in prison there are probably many out of it who are morally and intellectually no better.

(13) The whole machinery of registration, with its revising barristers, etc., would be abolished, and a simple and almost automatic system might be introduced.

(12) Parish relief, even if it does not necessarily convey any stigma in itself, should (as it does) disqualify a man for the vote. The policy of the State should be directed by those who contribute something to the State, not by those who are living on it. The pension of the civil servant is really only a reward for service done. It is most rare for an innocent man to be in prison, and though many guilty are outside, it is necessary that those who are convicted should be deprived of the privileges of good citizens.

(13) The simplification of electoral machinery is possible upon the basis of the present franchise.

### ADVERTISING, PUBLIC CONTROL OF

**Pro:** (1) Law ought to prevent the disfigurement of our towns and beautiful country districts by advertisements of enterprising manufacturers. Sense of beauty is a most important trait in national character, and ought to be fostered, even at considerable cost, as a counter influence to the materialistic tendencies of a commercial age.

(2) Legal regulation of advertising would afford protection to manufacturers who object to the means of advertisement at present in vogue, and who do not wish to see our towns made hideous and our scenery spoilt, yet who are forced by keen competition to imitate the methods of their rivals.

(3) This control would be feasible by giving the Board of Trade, or some other public body, power to license advertisements, and (as in some foreign countries) to enforce a small tax, which would not be seriously felt, but would bring in a considerable revenue for the relief of taxation generally. Though it might be hard to draw the line as to what and where advertisements should be admitted, public opinion would prevent any great abuse of the powers of the department.

(4) Advertising is a great tax on business; each trader is obliged to resort to it under penalty of seeing business go to his rivals. In

**Con:** (1) The State has no concern in the aesthetic culture of her citizens.

(2) No manufacturer does, or would be likely to, object to extend his business by any honest means.

(3) It would put too much power into the hands of a public body, since who is to decide what is a "beautiful spot," or where an advertisement should be allowed? Further, no Government would refuse a chance of making money; hence no real control would exist. Public opinion is no safeguard against abuse of power on the part of the Government; and such powers against a special class would make that class disaffected against the Government. Why subject this one class to a special tax?

(4) By advertising alone can a young manufacturer introduce his wares to the public; it thus affords a means of livelihood to many thousands who might otherwise be chargeable to the rates. It is well known that extensive advertising is only remunerative when the article is really good. No amount of advertising will create a remunerative demand for a worthless article.

(5) It would be very hard, especially in bad times, to cut off those having advertisement space to let from so fruitful a source of income. To pay compensation would

this way the cost of goods is kept up, and the public gains little or nothing from the fall in wholesale prices. Were advertising abolished, firms selling good articles could soon find other means of introducing them to the public; as it is, advertising is chiefly adopted as a means of palming off worthless goods on the public.

be expensive; not to pay it would be dishonest.

(5) Landholders and others hold their property only subject to the public welfare, and there can be no injustice in requiring advertisers to conform to such conditions as Society chooses to impose.

## AGRICULTURAL BANKS

The co-operative credit system is everywhere based on one of three great German systems, or a combination of them.

(1) The Raffeisen Banks, on which the Irish system is modelled, have the following features: A certain number of members of known honesty and industry are enrolled; their liability for working capital is individual and collective, and is unlimited; there are no shares or dividends; all profits are devoted to building up reserve funds; loans are only given for productive purposes after careful consideration of their object by the committee; there are no salaries to officials. The general meeting fixes the rates of interest and elects the directors or committee. The committee elects or rejects members and decides questions of management. The essence of the system is its dependence on personal character instead of share-holdings.

(2) The Schulze-Delitzsch Banks, which form the model of our town Co-operative Banks, are conducted on a commercial scale. In default of the personal guarantee which smaller communities can afford, the working capital is raised by means of shares. Money is not lent without careful and elaborate inquiry, but more reliance is placed on the share capital which the borrower holds in the bank as a security than upon the personal credit of the man himself. Dividends are usually paid, and the committee and officers are given a salary.

(3) The Haas Banks try to effect a compromise between the two other systems. The capital is raised by shares, but each share carries with it a guarantee for an equal sum.

**Pro:** (1) One of the chief causes contributing to the depression in British agriculture is the difficulty our farmers experience in obtaining credit in comparison with our competitors abroad. Owing to this, they have been unable to enter favourably into competition with foreign farmers (Danish, German, French, etc.) for the supply of vegetables, eggs, poultry, etc., to the London and other markets; for these demand a larger capital proportionately than ordinary farming—a capital which the farmers of several other nations can obtain through their Agricultural Banks, but which ours cannot. The Eng-

**Con:** (1) The real cause of the decline of British agriculture lies in the fact that, owing to a combination of the possession of favourable soil, good climate, and low freights, our foreign competitors are able to sell huge quantities of corn at prices which our farmers cannot afford to take. And as regards poultry, eggs, butter, etc., all the previous experience in this line shows that it is the invincible ignorance and prejudice of the farming class, and not want of capital, that is at the root of this evil. Capital without a knowledge how to use it advantageously would simply lead to ruinous speculation all round.

lish soil and climate are peculiarly favourable to dairy produce, vegetable, and fruit growing; and it is the difference in the facilities which English farmers have compared with their foreign rivals, not the soil or climate, which makes competition so difficult for them.

(2) The present Banking System, while it secures credit to the average trader, is insufficient to meet the wants of Agriculture for the following reasons: (a) The loan is needed for an unusually long time, e.g., if hops are grown, for perhaps several years, thus the risks are enormously increased. (b) The farmer has practically no sufficient security such as a Banker can recognize, excepting character and (in the case of the allotment-holder) his wages, since even in the case of the larger capitalist-farmer his capital is almost all sunk in his farm.

(3) While the landlord may in some few cases act as a loan agent, this is impossible in the case of most landlords, and highly undesirable, since, in the case of the landlord refusing, it would be very difficult for the tenant to obtain credit elsewhere.

(4) The difficulty of obtaining credit has already brought a large number of the farmers into the hands of the money-lenders and dealers, who charge most exorbitant sums for slight assistance, and are indeed often mere swindlers, who make no advances at all, but simply angle for "preliminary" and "inquiry" fees.

(5) Worked on the Raffeisen System, Agricultural Banks have proved most successful on the Continent: whole districts have, through their instrumentality, been relieved from entanglements arising from usury. Banks do not often lose their loans; even in the most illiterate parts of Silesia one of these Banks in fifteen years lost only £150 out of a total of £6,400,000 lent. The Schulze-Delitzsch Banks and the Haas Banks have also proved very successful.

(6) What the Russians and the

(2) No bank could stand the risk of lending for several years in a risky business such as agriculture; and, while a run of luck may carry them on for many years, small co-operative banks could not work on these principles. Character is not a security upon which the State, any more than the private bank, ought to lend money.

(3) The landlord, as knowing the tenant's resources, is the person most competent to lend money on fair terms, since he has a direct interest in keeping his tenant solvent and in improving his own land; and moreover, good tenants are hard to get, and probably still harder to keep. Where the landlord refuses to assist his tenant it usually means that the tenant is a man who ought not to be assisted by the State.

(4) It is impossible to expect that in agriculture the means for obtaining credit shall be as good as in trades where less uncertainty prevails; and in proportion as this is the case, so much the higher must be the terms demanded by those who take the risks. Of course the borrower must protect himself against fraud. No law can prevent a man from falling a victim to such a palpable form of deception as the "preliminary fee" fraud if the man's own common sense is not strong enough to protect him from such imposition.

(5) The experience of foreign countries can give us no idea how a system would work here. English farming under Free Trade, with hostile railway tariffs, is very different from the protected system of the Continent, with State railways aiding them with low rates.

(6) The English people will not co-operate; combination is alien to their genius; they are by nature individualists, and believe only in self-help.

(7) Banking worked on a co-operative basis could hardly ever prove as useful as banks worked by a single man of business or a firm. For example: it is found in business that banks worked by partners are much more accommodating to good

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7

Irish have learnt, surely the English can learn. Co-operation is not contrary, but complementary to self-help.

(7) Agricultural Banks based on the Raffeisen model being on a co-operative basis, and strictly limited to members, all of whom must be intimately acquainted with each other, are able to do a very much safer business, while at the same time they can lend when other banks would not dare to do so. Where the liability of members to outsiders is unlimited, it makes each of the members very much more careful.

(8) They are in no sense competitors to ordinary banks, but, on the contrary, bring them a larger business by breaking new ground where the old banks cannot reach.

(9) The Agricultural Bank of Egypt has endowed the peasants of the Nile with security, ambition and hope. The Greek usurers have lost their business, and the fellah has been made a freer man by having access to cheap money.

(10) The policy which has been applied with such great success to Ireland, to whose people it has given character and a sense of responsibility, should be adopted in England also.

clients in the matter of calling loans than are joint stock banks worked by directors.

(8) The present banks extend everywhere in England and to almost all classes, so that there is practically no new ground to break up, without interfering with the existing banks.

(9) The existence and power of the Greek usurer in Egypt created an entirely different problem in Egypt to any which we have to meet in this country.

(10) Ireland is an agricultural country; England is a manufacturing country. Money which is well spent in Ireland—a country by nature formed for agriculture—would be ill spent in England on the same objects. There is no reason in England why the farmer should receive State assistance in preference to those engaged in other industries.

## AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION : should remedies be sought ?

**Pro :** (1) Agriculture is unquestionably our most important industry.

(2) When agriculture is prosperous, its prosperity reacts on other industries, increases the demand for goods of various kinds, and thus helps to benefit the towns.

(3) Agriculture supplies the men who form the backbone of Britain. Town populations can be kept up only by drafts on country districts, town families always having a tendency to die out.

(4) The Government cannot stand by and watch the conversion of agriculture into a huge monopoly, consisting of vast farms worked by a comparatively few hands with the

**Con :** (1) Agriculture is no more important to the nation than other great industries.

(2) When any industry is prosperous, it reacts on all other industries, especially on agriculture.

(3) There is no evidence that townsmen are necessarily more unhealthy than their country neighbours, or that town families necessarily die out. With the tendency to go further and further into the suburbs, encouraged by increased rail and tramway facilities, there is no reason why men should live in such confined places as they now do, or should not enjoy all the advantages of a country life. Moreover, factories are being removed more and

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aid of machinery. (See SMALL OWNERSHIPS.)

(5) Agriculture is in many ways unfavourably situated in regard to obtaining credit, etc., owing to the uncertain nature of crops and the many accidents to which they are liable. In view of the great importance of the problem, Government might reasonably give such facilities as would enable farmers to tide over their difficulties. (See AGRICULTURAL BANKS.) In former days high prices recouped a farmer in a bad year; now they do so no longer, as in bad seasons food is imported from abroad.

(6) A tariff on imported agricultural products would give the necessary security to attract capital and labour back to the land.

more into the country, and thus render the continued draft on village population unnecessary.

(4) Government interference would do more harm than good, by checking the necessary transformation of the industry from small to great. Large farms are worked at a greater profit and on better methods than small farms can be.

(5) State assistance of agriculture would involve the same relief being granted to other industries, a policy which must soon land us in national disaster. Private enterprise is doing all that is possible.

(6) Any effective tariff on agricultural products could only be imposed to the detriment of the poor, who would have to pay greatly enhanced prices for their food.

## ALIENS, STRENGTHENING OF LAWS REGULATING THE IMMIGRATION OF

**Pro :** (1) England already has a population too large for her resources. In encouraging emigration while allowing immigration, we get rid of some of our finest specimens of men, only to fill their places with foreigners of an inferior type. The Jews always remain a foreign race, speaking a foreign tongue, and as a class, though law-abiding, are unscrupulous, and frequently uncleanly. The present Act has been rendered almost a dead letter by the manner in which it has been administered.

(2) Every other country has found it necessary to check indiscriminate immigration—even America and our Colonies. At times immigrating foreigners have been refused by the American authorities and sent on here. Yet in America there is always a demand that the law should be made more rigid.

(3) The aliens who come have nothing to recommend them, nothing to teach us, except the capacity of working for a minimum wage. Free asylum to all refugees is a fine sentiment, but a Government must make its own people its first consideration. We lose more than we gain by making cheapness our only aim.

**Con :** (1) The numbers of immigrants have been vastly overestimated; e.g. it has been usual to class as immigrants all those who rebooked at once to America; besides which, many proceed to America after a short stay here. The Jews are a most law-abiding race, and soon assimilate themselves to English habits and language, and become Englishmen in every sense. The present Act is quite sufficiently stringent.

(2) England has always afforded an asylum for those fleeing from persecution, religious or political. The American experience shows that the strictest laws do not succeed in what they aim at.

(3) There has been no displacement of English labour owing to foreign immigration, the sphere of the Jews' influence being perfectly well defined; and it is found that the latter have really established new trades, viz., the manufacture of ready-made clothes and boots, etc., in which they have enabled London to hold her own against provincial and foreign manufacturers. Moreover, the Jews, though they work for low wages at first, demand the

(4) The strengthening of the laws regulating the admission of aliens to this country would not keep out the useful alien. Conditions alter, and what was beneficial centuries ago is not so now. We can pay too high a price even for a few great men.

(5) The absence of any system of registration in this country makes it impossible for the police to keep properly in touch with the latent revolutionary forces pouring in. The problem of maintaining law and order is rendered impossible; and the seditious of all countries hatch their plots in London.

(6) There is great danger that wholesale Jewish immigration may some day cause anti-Semitic agitation in England.

(7) The judges are always commenting on the number of alien criminals with which they have to deal: men who are not subjects of this country, but who have to be maintained in prison out of the national revenue.

market rate as soon as they have learnt their trade.

(4) Many of the greatest Englishmen and of most value to this country have been of alien origin.

(5) The right of asylum given to the politically heterodox in England has been the reason that the forces of Anarchism have never seriously troubled the English Government or administration. To this we largely owe our immunity from assassinations and other violent attempts to subvert the existing order of things.

(6) The danger of an anti-Semitic outburst in England is more imaginary than real.

(7) There are a very few alien criminals in this country: in 1910 there were 2,271 alien prisoners, less than 1 per cent. of the whole; whilst there are less aliens in England than in any other country except Spain.

(8†) Restriction would damage our transport trade, which at present gains enormously from the large numbers of aliens that pass through England to America.

## ANARCHISM

**Pro:** (1) Universal suffrage and democratic rule constitute as great a danger to liberty in this age as the aristocracies and monarchies of the past did in their times. The Anarchists contend, as against the Socialists, that what is wanted to secure to every man his rights is not an increase in the sphere of government, but its total abolition.

(2) The amount of work already done voluntarily shows what can be done in the absence of all contract, and without any idea of Government control. Neither fines nor compulsion are so effective as free agreements. Man can always refuse to work with or for those who have failed to act honourably.

(3) A Swiss citizen belongs to at least a dozen Societies, which supply him with things considered elsewhere within the province of government, such as roads, fountains, etc.

(4) There can be no real liberty so long as there is a constant check.

**Con:** (1) Some form of government cannot possibly be dispensed with so long as human nature remains what it is. Though Democracy, Aristocracy, and Monarchy may all have proved tyrannies, yet No-government would be a greater tyranny still. Instead of, at the worst, being the victim of the indignation of a whole people, an unpopular person would be at the mercy of any small body of men, or even of any single man, who chose to attack him. It is only through settled government that commerce, science, education, religion, etc., can exist at all.

(2) It is precisely government which renders those voluntary agreements possible which are now used as an object lesson against it; while, in practice, the only way to ensure that a man shall carry out his undertakings is to attach some penalty to their non-observance.

(3) The existence, or at any rate prosperous management, of volun-



imposed from without, upon the actions of the individual.

(5) Anarchy does not mean disorder—simply the absence of legal compulsion.

tary associations, such as the Swiss societies, implies a settled government behind them.

(4) True liberty is only possible under law.

(5) The adoption of Anarchism would result in chaos.

### ANGLICAN CHURCH (Modern) : is it a branch of the Catholic Church

**Pro :** (1) The Anglican Church preserves an unbroken continuity with her past, and her Orders have never lost their validity. (See ANGLICAN ORDERS).

(2) She has rejected no doctrine which was held essential by the Primitive Church, or which can be found in the Bible. She has merely cleared away abuses which have grown up.

(3) All the National Churches had power to vary customs and ceremonies; but none of them to add to the faith, as has been done by the Church of Rome. Rights are not lost by reason of the fact that those who possess them are ignorant of their existence.

**Con :** (1) The Anglican Orders are not valid (See ANGLICAN ORDERS), and the present English Church is merely a political creation of Henry VIII adopted by his successors to supply the place of the old Church of England.

(2) The Church of England has erred deeply in doctrine.

(3) The so-called Branch Theory of National Churches is merely an argument started by the Ritualists in the English Church to justify their position. The great majority of Anglicans have always held that she is Protestant, and not Catholic.

### ANGLICAN ORDERS

**Anglican Attitude :** (1) The Council of Trent was asked by Pius IV to declare the consecration of the Elizabethan bishops to be invalid, but refused to do so.

(2) Though the record of Barlow's consecration has been lost, sufficient evidence remains to show that he had been consecrated Bishop of St. David's, inasmuch as his nomination, election, and confirmation can be proved, as well as his installation, recovery of temporalities, summons to the House of Lords, voting there and in Convocation. Bishop Gardiner, writing to Protector Somerset, speaks of Barlow as a bishop; and Queen Mary's *congé d'élire*, naming Gilbert Bourne to the See of Bath and Wells, specifies the resignation of William Barlow, last bishop thereof, as the cause of the vacancy. The fact that Cranmer omitted to note the fact of consecration in his Register is

**Roman Catholic Attitude :** (1) Rome has pronounced against Anglican Orders.

(2) No record of the consecration of Bishop Barlow [1559], who consecrated Archbishop Parker, exists; and it is doubtful if he was ever consecrated at all. Cranmer, who kept his notes for his Register with great care, has no entry of it.

(3) The Ordinal used at Parker's consecration — that of Edward VI — shows a manifest intention of not making a Catholic bishop, as then and now understood, but of appointing an overseer, who, deriving his power from the Sovereign, should administer discipline, teach, and preach. Similarly the Anglican Ordinal for making priests, at any rate down to Charles II, bore on its face the intention not to make sacrificing priests, but a "Gospel ministry."

(4) Even if the Anglican Orders were valid, they would not belong

accounted for by the carelessness with which that Register was kept, the names of no less than eight other prelates having been omitted, though there is contemporary evidence to prove their consecration. Other public documents exist at Lambeth and in H.M. Public Record Office, which prove Barlow's consecration; but even if he had not been consecrated, it is undisputed that the other two bishops assisting in the consecration had been consecrated; and the Nicene canons ordering three bishops to take part in every consecration were adopted to meet a case of this sort, in order that B and C might supply any defects of A. Hence Barlow could not affect the validity of Parker's consecration.

(3) All that is necessary for the validity of consecration is that a bishop, himself consecrated, should transmit the office through the laying-on of hands. England has never ceased to be Christian, and the line of consecrated bishops has remained unbroken. It is hard to draw any distinction between a "bishop" and an "overseer" [*ἐπίσκοπος*].

(4) How are we to know what constitutes the True Church, apart from its Apostolic Succession?

to the true Church. Catholics "know" that their Orders are valid because they are members of the true Church, and Anglicans "believe" that they belong to the True Church because their Orders are valid.

## ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE, THE

**Pro :** (1) There is nothing in the Treaty that necessitates the use of Japanese soldiers on the Indian Frontier. The Treaty stipulates that when either party is attacked, the other should come to its assistance. If India were invaded, Japan could assist her ably by other means than landing troops in India. The idea that this Alliance relieves England from any of her natural military obligations is inconsistent with both the letter and the spirit of the Treaty.

(2) The Alliance helps to maintain peace and freedom of commerce in the Far East.

(3) The Treaty facilitates an understanding between Russia.

(4) Alliance no longer dis-

**Con :** (1) The maintenance of the integrity of India is England's affair and no one else's. The pride of the Indian people has been wounded, and the prestige of the Empire abased in the eyes of the world by the provision by which Japan makes herself conjointly responsible for the defence of the Indian frontier.

(2) The English people have always objected to entanglements for long terms of alliance, even with European powers. All that was valuable in the agreement could probably have been secured without undertaking the obligations and liabilities, adverse to the established maxims of English policy. Justified admiration for the Japanese



tated by religion. Community of commercial interest is the firmest bond. There is no stigma attaching to an alliance with a country where civilization is so advanced as it is in Japan.

(5) The same objection can be taken to any Treaty. England is no longer strong enough to maintain a position of splendid isolation.

(6) The Treaty arrests the restless policy of the forward military party in India.

was not a sufficient reason for tying oneself to them.

(3) The Treaty is loose, wide and rather vague and, for instance, in guaranteeing the integrity of China might involve the country in many surprises.

(4) By the Treaty England has allied herself with heathendom against Christendom. The former champion of freedom has become a bad European.

(5) The Treaty with Japan is dangerous, because it lulls the people to sleep in false security, when they ought to be actively reorganizing and fitting themselves to take their proper part in the business of the world.

(6) In consequence of the want of sympathy between the Australians and Canadians on the one hand and the Japanese on the other, the Treaty will not only prevent the federation of the British Empire but will hasten its disruption.

*See also IMPERIALISM.*

## ANIMALS, RIGHTS OF

**Pro :** (1) In the sense that men have rights, animals also have rights, though in a lesser degree. These rights consist in what Herbert Spencer called the "restricted freedom" to live a natural life in harmony with the permanent requirements of the community.

(2) Though the public is only just beginning to recognize these rights, the subject is one which has attracted attention in the earliest times. One of the maxims of the Buddhist and Pythagorean canons was "not to kill or injure any innocent animal." Jeremy Bentham asserted the rights of animals.

(3) Animals have already certain limited rights, which are recognized in private usage and by legal enactment. But legislation (in Great Britain, at least) allows men to torture or burn alive a hare or a rabbit, or any other animal which the law does not consider "domestic."

(4) The most urgent need now is some intelligible principle which

**Con :** (1) It is purely arbitrary to say that animals have rights in the sense in which men have them, even if the rights claimed for animals are less comprehensive than those of men. We may be said to have duties of kindness towards animals, but it is incorrect to represent these as strictly duties towards the animals themselves.

(2) A flesh diet being necessary for the inhabitants of colder regions, at any rate, it is not possible to put into practice the teaching of the Buddhists or Pythagoreans on this point. It is also significant that at the same period a fig-tree could be found guilty of murder.

(3) Animals are protected because they are valuable, and not because they have "rights." In the case of wild animals they are destroyed and hunted, because either they may be dangerous, or the hunting may give pleasure. It is wrong in man to ill-treat animals unnecessarily, inas-

shall consistently indicate the true lines of man's moral relation towards the lower animals. The rights of animals now are subordinate to almost anything that can be construed into a human "want," including flesh eating, fur and feather wearing, hunting and scientific research.

(5) As animals live (if left to their true selves) their own lives fitly, and indicate a marked sense of individuality, they show the highest moral purpose, and there can be no higher in man.

(6) Animals are weak, and need man's protection; and before pain or death is inflicted, we must be assured that it is necessary.

(7) If rights to exist must be reciprocal, what claim can a lunatic or an infant have on our protection?

much as it is demoralizing to his own finer instincts.

(4) It is impossible to draw any but a purely arbitrary line between animals which should be protected by law and those which should not. That such a line is necessary appears self-evident, however, when we reflect that, otherwise, on the evolution hypothesis, it would be impossible to stop anywhere short of protoplasm, unless, indeed, we are prepared to show exactly where intelligence begins.

(5) It is absurd to say that animals have a moral purpose of their own. Even the dog seems to have no higher motive than to please his master.

(6) Animals are not always the weaker, and in some cases man has to be protected from them. If in order to live man must kill, then he is justified; the same argument would apply to scientific research to save him from disease, to hunting to give him pleasure, and to the wearing of animal products to give him warmth and comfort.

(7) Rights must be reciprocal. The infant and the lunatic have this claim on the protection of society: to preserve itself, if for no natural reason, society must protect the young, and all men feel that they themselves might become insane.

*See also VIVISECTION; VEGETARIANISM.*

## ARBITRATION, COMPULSORY INDUSTRIAL

**Pro:** (1) The damage arising from strikes is so immense that the State ought, in the interests of the public, to interfere and afford means for arbitration, which must be compulsory in order to render the award binding on both parties.

(2) As the arbitrator would be appointed by both parties, there is no reason why either should object to abide by his decision.

(3) In over 1,000 cases in 1909 disputes were settled by Conciliation Boards in this country without a stoppage of work having occurred. At present the Boards concern only two million people; the advantage

**Con:** (1) There is already plenty of provision for legalised arbitration. Granted that arbitration may at times be useful, why should it be compulsory?

(2) There would be considerable difficulty in obtaining a competent arbitrator, and in supplying him with the requisite facts. Moreover, an agreement as to the principles on which he should work could never be determined by the two parties to the dispute.

(3) The New Zealand Conciliation Boards have been a very qualified success, and tend to cripple the Trades Unions, for, whilst strikes

of them ought to be extended to the whole country.

are prohibited, the Boards take too conservative an attitude. They are distrusted by labour and capital alike. The boiler-makers' lock-out in September, 1910, showed that the most carefully contrived conciliation schemes are powerless of themselves to avert trouble.

### ARBITRATION, INTERNATIONAL : is it a Substitute for War ?

**Pro :** (1) Arbitration makes reason and justice, instead of force, the final arbiter in international disputes.

(2) War settles nothing, but merely leaves behind a desire for revenge. Arbitration, on the other hand, settles disputes in an amicable and just manner.

(3) The cost of war and the preparations against attack involve Europe in an immense and increasing taxation, which threatens universal bankruptcy—to say nothing of the withdrawal of numbers of men from industry.

(4) Nations do respect arbitration decisions, as has been proved by experience, for the very same reason that they keep other treaties. Arbitration is optional, and a nation will be hardly likely to ignore the decision of a Court to which it has appealed. Some form of European Federation ought to be aimed at which, leaving each nation free as regards internal affairs, might arrange the relations of the States to each other on a basis of mutual accommodation. A permanent tribunal of Arbitration might be formed to which nations should be bound to submit all disputes, and which should, if possible, be supplied by the various powers, with force to compel its decisions. The Hague Tribunal has worked very satisfactorily wherever tried, and there is now plenty of justification for extending its sphere of usefulness. An International Supreme Court has been created to deliver final judgment upon all cases of marine captures. There is no reason why all disputes between civilized nations should not be

**Con :** (1) Arbitration, save in isolated cases, can never supersede war. International law is far too vague to give any guidance, and there is no guarantee that the award will be adhered to. Arbitration is, usually, only possible where one nation agrees to abandon a portion of its claims.

(2) Arbitration, like a lawsuit, leads to bickering and fraud. Nations put forward forged documents. Each country sees only its own side, and passions are just as much stirred as in war. Awards rarely satisfy. Arbitration is always unsatisfactory, and its awards have not always been carried out; whereas if the war ends in the crippling of the losing side, there results a settlement of some considerable permanency.

(3) War is the best cure for surplus wealth and population. In peace the productive powers of mankind have passed their powers of consumption; the markets are glutted and men thrown out of employment, in addition to a vast, surplus over-population having accrued. War corrects these evils. Arbitration is possible only between nations of equal strength. Strong nations will certainly never go to arbitration on important matters with weak nations. Moreover, warfare cultivates the most manly qualities; courage, resourcefulness, self-dependence, heroism, self-sacrifice, patriotism, etc.

(4) Nations (which feel strong enough to resist them) will never respect a decision of an International Court which is not satisfactory to them; in a land military and naval strength will always be the

settled in like manner or by arbitration.

(5) War has been abolished as between individuals; why then should it be impossible to abolish it between States?

(6) As civilization advances, competition gives way more and more to co-operation. War may have been necessary to teach man the value of the Social State, but, when this is learnt, the circumstances are altered. Co-operation between nations is a much more efficient means to the same end than competition.

(7) The great hope for the peace of the future lies in the international character of labour and of democratic ideals. The growth of democracy will do much to extinguish warlike ambition.

(8) International morality has made enormous strides within the last few years. Even wars are conducted with much less brutality. And it continually makes fresh strides, largely owing to the awakening of the popular conscience in various lands to a sense of the people's responsibility for the doings of their Government.

(9\*) At the second Peace Conference at the Hague the principle of compulsory arbitration was approved by all the powers except the United States, Japan and Roumania.

measure of international right. The attempt to organize Europe federally has been made by Emperors and Popes, but was rejected, as it meant a tyranny to which no self-respecting nation would submit.

(5) War between individuals organized under a common State is very different from that between States. Were a Universal State possible, war might come to an end; but till all men speak the same language and reach the same level of culture the Universal State is impossible, excepting under a great military conqueror. At present the Individual State represents the ripest fruit of human organizing power.

(6) Competition is a most essential element in human progress, and eliminates the unfit in nations as among individuals. By war alone has man become a social animal organized into a State. Men will always compete or stagnate; civilization has altered the direction, but not lessened the importance, of competition.

(7) Modern nations have reached the stage of quasi-federation, but equality of strength and extinction of ambition among nations are conditions precedent to arbitration, and are not current conditions.

(8) International morality is very weak.

(9†) Periods of struggle have invariably produced great deeds in action and thought, great masterpieces of literature and of art.

*See also* DISARMAMENT.

## ARMAMENTS, REDUCTION OF NATIONAL

**Pro:** (1) Every year witnesses an alarming increase in the sum of money set apart for so-called defensive purposes. Every year the Ministers say that the sum they ask is absolutely necessary to put the Navy in a state of absolute safety against attack, or to render the army efficient, only to show the next year that the end has not been attained. In these circumstances, the question is, How are these

**Con:** (1) England's fleet must conform to necessity, and in estimating its requisite size we must consider the work it may be called upon to perform. To Germany and Russia a navy is more or less a luxury; to England it means her very existence. No price is too heavy to pay for national independence.

(2) We must have a decided superiority in ships to enable us to

growing demands to be met or checked?

(2) The policy of expecting our fleet to rival those of any two other powers is folly; apart from the expense, we see its futility in the fact that for every ship we add Germany, Italy or Austria each adds one too.

(3) The sole danger, at any rate the chief danger, that threatens our commerce, lies in the arrogant manner in which we ignore the wishes of other powers.

(4) At the present rate of expenditure bankruptcy is an infinitely greater danger to us than war.

(5) Our expenditure for defence purposes is rising much faster than our trade; it becomes a question how far our commerce is worth defending at such a cost.

(6) The saying that "If you want peace, you must prepare for peace," is better. The expenditure required for guarding against all possible risks is out of all proportion to the benefit; moreover, every nation, especially a great one, must run some risks.

(7) It is inconceivable, when we consider the difficulty of establishing a perfect blockade in one or two harbours, with even the largest fleet in the world, that England, with her harbours scattered all round the coast, should ever be blockaded, or that it should be possible, in these days of swift steaming, for steamers with corn to be unable to run a blockade.

rely on defeating any reasonable possible hostile combination.

(3) The arrogance of England is a myth, invented by the foreign Press. In all recent disputes England, so far from bullying, has shown too great willingness to abandon her undoubted rights.

(4) Our commerce means our food. Were it possible to deport a large part of our population, so as to reduce it to such an extent that we could live on home-grown wheat, it might be possible to reduce our navy; but not till then. A weak navy would inevitably result in national bankruptcy so soon as our weakness was discovered by our enemies.

(5) To fail to defend your trade because the cost is high is like a starving man throwing away half a loaf because he wants a whole loaf. No price can be too high to pay for the maintenance of our trade.

(6) The argument that "If you want peace, you must prepare for war," is proved true by the everyday experience of us all as individuals.

(7) The risks from a blockade are too great for England not to strain every nerve to avert them.

## ARMY SHORT SERVICE

**Pro:** (1) Under the old system soldiers were kept abroad all their lives, or a very long time, and came to look on enlistment as only a last resource; hence our troops suffered in quantity and quality. In India, for instance, a regiment sometimes stayed so long, that before it returned home all the original members had died out, having been replaced by drafts from home; which was certainly no economy. Real Short Service gave us a reserve, and, at any rate for India, a thor-

**Con:** (1) Under the old system by long service, soldiers at least learnt their work. The army, though less popular, was more efficient, veterans being superior to the raw boys who go to India, and better able to take precautions against illness, etc. The Short Service system has, in fact, broken down in our Indian wars. Indian officers are almost unanimous in their preference for the long service men. It is more expensive to replace regiments every three years than

oughly efficient army, nor did th  
troops generally deteriorate.

(2) Europeans never get acclima-  
tized to India—rather the reverse:  
hence a Short Service keeps them  
more efficient, and is more humane.

(3) Our Short Service was longer  
than the usual service on the Con-  
tinent.

(4) After three years' service, at  
all events in the infantry, a man  
has learnt all he is likely to learn,  
and it is more economical for the  
country at the conclusion of that  
period to pay him for some years a  
small retaining fee, and call upon  
him for service only in time of war.

(5) Under the system, men leave  
the army at an earlier age and have  
as a rule parents or other near  
relatives, who can assist them in  
obtaining civil employment.

send out occasional drafts.

(2) Troops learn to diet them-  
selves in India, and the longer they  
stay the more competent they be-  
come, and the less likely to fall  
victims to disease.

(3) Continental army regulations  
are no guide to the needs of the  
British Empire.

(4) Short Service abolished the  
old feeling of regimental *esprit  
de corps*, which had such an excel-  
lent effect on discipline, etc. War  
is a profession which, like others,  
cannot be learnt in a few years.  
The veterans have always been the  
pick of every army.

(5) The effect of the Short Service  
system is to throw annually upon  
civil life a very much larger number  
of men seeking employment than  
was the case formerly.

## ASSESSMENT OF LAND AND BUILDING VALUES, SPECIAL

**Pro:** (1) In every house there  
are two values, which are radically  
distinct: (a) that of the building  
itself, (b) that of the land it occu-  
pies. They should naturally be  
separately assessed.

(2) The value of the building is  
a temporary one, that of the land is  
permanent. Justice, therefore, de-  
mands that each person enjoying  
these values should pay his own  
assessments.

(3) The tenant already pays the  
full amount that the property is  
worth; it would be unlikely that  
the landlord could obtain much  
more rent from him.

(4) There would be no difficulty in  
separating values in this way; it is  
done by surveyors in assessing them  
under the present system.

**Con:** (1) Rating should be as  
condensed as possible, and the  
simpler the basis of its calculation  
the better.

(2) Under Special Assessment it  
would be impossible to apportion  
the charges accurately, as the terms  
on which buildings and land are  
held by tenants and sub-tenants  
differ materially.

(3) Separate Assessment would  
lead to the tenant paying the land-  
lord's rates, in the shape of increased  
rent; and he would thus gain  
nothing.

(4) It would be most difficult to  
make a distinction in such a manner  
as to avoid disputes. For a sur-  
veyor to do a thing for his own con-  
venience is very different from his  
undertaking it as a public duty.

## ATHANASIAN CREED: should the Rubric requiring its Public Recitation be removed?

**Pro:** (1) The Christian faith is suffi-  
ciently set forth for salvation in the  
Apostles' Creed, yet in the Athana-  
sian Creed there is "nothing but  
damnation and perishing" everlast-  
ingly, unless the article of the  
Trinity be believed, as it is there  
with curiosity and minut particu-

**Con:** (1) The Creed is of great doc-  
trinal value: it sets forth nothing  
but facts; it is a monument of the  
Church's dislike of abstract specula-  
tion; it is the assertion that our  
eternal destiny depends upon what  
we are and do, and upon nothing  
else. The question whether we shall



larities explained" (Jeremy Taylor). Many of the members of the Ritual Commission of 1867 (including the Archbishop of Canterbury) were in favour of discontinuing the recitation of the *Quicunque vult* in public worship.

(2) The Declaration no doubt gives a proper explanation of the Church's attitude, but it amounts to this. The Creed having just pronounced that unless you believe these definitions you cannot be saved, Convocation explains that the pronouncement has no personal application, and says "We do not presume to say that *you* cannot be saved."

(3) (Some) The language of the *Quicunque* is perfectly clear: the more accurate the translation the more precise are its warnings and the harder to explain away. Some more worthy way than "explanations" must be found. The essential step is to remove the present legal compulsion which stamps as disobedient the men whose sense of truth forbids them both to recite the damnatory clauses, and to receive the glosses which have been put upon them. It is wrong that on the great festivals a jarring note should be struck by reminding us of the bitterness of strife between Arian and orthodox in Western Christendom in the fifth and sixth centuries. A Confession which owes but little of its language to Scripturo, and is argumentative in tone and provocative, is suddenly put into the mouths of the simplest Churchman, woman, and child. In Scripture there is another line of thought (e.g. 1 Cor. xv. 28; Col. i. 19, 20), which it is impossible to reconcile with the damnatory clauses. The task of explaining the *Quicunque* is one that could be undertaken only by a trained theologian speaking to an audience which had received some instruction in philosophy; yet the clauses are read to babes and beginners.

(4) The offence of the damnatory clauses lies not in their severity but in the doubtfulness which attaches

perish everlastingly is the question whether we have or have not eternal life. And eternal life is the gift of God. The Church knows no way to it, except to receive it from Jesus Christ, in Whom it is stored, nor of any way to receive it even from Him, without faith in Him, and self-surrender to His Holy Spirit. The *Quicunque* clauses do not say that we shall perish everlastingly for not holding this Creed, but only if we do not will to do God's will. It would be a serious loss if the Creed were never recited. Familiarity with the *Quicunque* does much to correct the tendency to Tritheism which besets current beliefs, as well as to preserve a balanced and reasonable view of the Incarnation.

(2) The Synodical Declaration made by Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in 1873 and reaffirmed in 1879 says that "the Church does not herein pronounce judgment on any particular person, God alone being the judge of all."

(3) (Some) The *Quicunque* clauses must be properly understood, and then they are desirable. These verses are addressed only to those who have been soundly instructed in the Christian Faith. "Before all things" implies no preference of orthodox thinking to right living. "Without doubt he shall perish everlastingly" is to be understood with the limitations of which God alone is judge. (Some) There is nothing in the Creed which is more severe than certain passages in the Bible. The sayings in Acts iv. 13, 2 Cor. ii. 15, 16, 1 John iv. 15, Matt. xxv. 41, Mark iii. 20 and ix. 48, are quite as severe as anything in the Creed, and represent one definite line of thought in the New Testament.

(4) To withdraw or modify the rule ordering its recitation, in the present age, and in the present condition of theological thought, is necessarily to make a damaging concession to the forces antagonistic to Christianity. The Church has always maintained that a man is responsible not only for his actions

to them as statements of fact. On May 10, 1905, the Bishops of the Convocation of Canterbury passed a resolution by 18 votes to 5 affirming that the minatory clauses, taken in their *prima facie* meaning, "convey a more unqualified statement than Scripture warrants." The Church cannot honourably continue to impose a document which is not a Creed on the revolted moral sense of so many of the best of her sons; or to treat as a Creed the anonymous discourse of a Western writer embittered past patience. She should leave the guardianship of the great doctrines of Christianity not to anathemas, but to faith and love. When we think of the good and holy men who have been unable to accept the definitions of the Creed, we dare not assert that the statement that they "cannot be saved" is true.

(5) The Athanasian Creed is not a complete statement of the Catholic Faith. There is no allusion to the function of the Holy Spirit in connexion with the Church and the Prophets, or to Baptism (as there is in the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed). A Creed ought not to require glosses, either of addition or interpretation. There should be no mental reservations necessary in the recitation of a Creed.

(6) The *Quicunque* is analogous in form to the *Te Deum* rather than to any of the current creeds, and the conclusion that it was rather in the nature of a hymn than a creed is also supported by its history. In the Office of Prime the *Quicunque* goes with the Psalms: it has the place of a canticle and not of a creed. The use was entirely different from that allotted in the English Prayer Book, where it is ordered to be used in substitution for the Apostles' Creed, and in a service in which the people fully co-operate.

(7) The use of the Creed is not ordered in any service of the Eastern Church.

(8) Its doctrinal statements may be a valuable definition of Christian verities, but the damnatory clauses

but also for his beliefs; the *Quicunque* asserts this principle with the most unmistakable force; to relax the rule with regard to it is *pro tanto* to undermine the principle. To modify the rule would give countenance to those who maintain that those who refuse to accept the Christian faith are not necessarily eternally lost.

(5) The necessary additions to the Athanasian Creed are easily supplied, and the formula is not to be taken to deny the necessity of articles which it does not mention.

(6) The *Quicunque* was widely used in the Western Church in the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation. It was said in the Office of Prime daily, both in England and on the Continent, and at that all faithful laymen attended. The matter of the Athanasian Creed proves clearly that it is a Creed and not a hymn, containing as it does much doctrinal phraseology and thought.

(7) The withdrawal of the rubric involves a departure from Catholicity.

(8) By withdrawing these solemn warnings from the hearing of the people we shall tend to undermine the sense of the importance of a true creed. The Creed affirms a vastly important and impressive religious truth which (however painful to some) must be emphasized by the Church which is responsible for the guardianship of the Christian faith.

(9) The *Quicunque* is a creed, not an anthem; and, as such, it should be compulsory that the people should hear it at regular intervals.



are entirely out of place in public worship.

(9) If the rubric requiring its public recitation were removed, the *Quicumque* could still be recited by those who so desired as an anthem just as often as it suited their sense of fitness. The Irish Church has ceased to enjoin the recitation of the *Quicumque*. On the other hand, it stands in its familiar place in the Prayer Book as a standard of doctrine.

### BACHELORS, TAXATION OF

**Pro :** (1) Taxation should be based upon the resources and responsibilities of the citizen. A bachelor having only himself to support can afford to pay more than a husband or a father.

(2) A family which contributes able-bodied children to the State is *ipso facto* contributing to the welfare of the country.

(3) There is no class so well able to bear taxation as the bachelor.

(4) Taxation of bachelors would encourage the idea that it is wrong to remain unmarried, and would reduce the risks of marriage; the State might grant a bounty in proportion to the size of the family, with a view to counteract any decrease in the population. The decreasing birth-rate is one of the most alarming signs of national decadence, and the tax would help to counteract the present unfortunate tendency.

(5) The unmarried state is in itself an evil, since all men are the better for the responsibilities and influences of married life.

(6) The taxation of bachelors is already an accomplished fact in Bulgaria. In February, 1900, the Parliament of that kingdom passed a bill imposing a super-tax of ten francs (8s. 4d.) a year on unmarried men over thirty. The proceeds are earmarked for educational purposes. Moreover, the Financial Commission of the Russian Duma has approved of a bill imposing a tax on all young people of marriageable age who are single. The tax will take the

**Con :** (1) Taxation of bachelors would burden one section of society for the benefit of the rest, and is therefore opposed to the first principles of taxation.

(2) It is not so much a numerical increase as an improvement in the quality of the population that makes a nation prosperous.

(3) It would increase the difficulties of a poor industrious bachelor who is trying to save money with a view to marriage, which it would consequently tend to postpone.

(4) It would encourage improvident marriages among the poor. It is better that a man should remain unmarried than that he should marry, only to throw his responsibilities on the State. In the case of childless marriages, presumably no benefit would accrue to those married. State interference will never be able to counteract the fall in the birth-rate, which is due to a change in social conditions—increased knowledge and a higher standard of comfort.

(5) It is beyond the scope of the State to enforce upon her citizens the alleged advantages arising from the married state.

(6) It is too early to judge from the fact that the tax has been introduced into Bulgaria whether or not it will have the alleged benefits.

form of a percentage on their incomes.

## BETTERMENT

**Pro :** (1) Since the properties of landlords are appreciated by permanent improvements, towards which the owners contribute no more than the ordinary ratepayers, it is only just that they should be subjected to a special tax in proportion to the benefit received.

(2) "Betterment" is a just means of dealing with "unearned increment." It is unjust that landlords should benefit by improvements made at the cost of the community.

(3) The principle of "Betterment" has long been accepted, since a district especially benefited by an improvement contributes a larger proportion of the cost than the rest of the metropolis; hence the present proposal is only an extension of this principle, and the cost of such improvements would be still further localized, viz., by making it an individual burden.

(4) By applying the principle of "Betterment" to individual properties, a more equitable system of taxation ensues, since only those properties are taxed which derive actual appreciation from the improvements.

(5) No hardship can result from "Betterment," since the interests of each individual landowner are taken into consideration, and the burden is proportionate to the benefits received.

(6) By this scheme landlords pay only a fair share of the cost of such improvements, the balance being borne by the ratepayers.

(7) Without such a tax a twofold advantage accrues to the landlord (a) by the remunerative sale of a portion of his property, (b) by the value of the remaining property being thereby enhanced.

(8) The principle of "Worsement," i.e., compensation to landlords, already exists. It is, therefore, only just that "Betterment" should also obtain.

**Con :** (1) Properties are appreciated not by improvements, but by the expenditure of capital on adjacent properties after such improvements have been effected. It is, therefore, doubly hard on the landlords to be compelled first to contribute largely to public improvements, and then to have to expend further sums in order that their properties may derive any advantage.

(2) Public alterations are undertaken only if it is believed that corresponding benefits will accrue to the community. It is, therefore, unjust to tax landlords higher than ordinary ratepayers, seeing that such improvements necessitate a corresponding expenditure on the adjacent properties. A landlord's income is depreciated by the amount of this new tax if he does not speculate in improvements, and in many cases this is financially impossible.

(3) The principle of "Betterment" is now accepted, but it deals with the district as a whole, and not with the individual members of it. This is much fairer, since it is impossible to estimate the exact money-value of public improvements.

(4) Any great public work, such as the opening up of a wide thoroughfare through a densely populated district, improves the whole neighbourhood, not only the adjacent properties. It is the height of injustice to inflict the greater part of the cost of, say, a new bridge upon the riparian owners.

(5) Great hardships are inflicted on landlords by the adoption of the system of "Betterment," since it takes time to alter the adjacent properties in accordance with the new surroundings, especially as it is possible that such alterations may result in financial loss instead of the anticipated gain. To tax prospectively such problematical increments would be manifestly unjust to the owner. Further, while a

(9) "Betterment" equalizes the incidence of rates, which fall entirely on the tenant, and extracts from the real owner a fair contribution towards the permanent improvement of his property.

(10) "Betterment" allows of urgent public improvements being undertaken at once, a procedure which is at present impossible owing to the already heavy rates.

(11) The difficulty of justly assessing the amount to be contributed by individual landlords has been unduly exaggerated, and will gradually disappear, and, as now in the case of compulsory sale of land, cases of difficulty would be settled by arbitration.

(12) By the system of "Betterment," the London County Council would not be obliged to buy up properties for public improvements, and would thereby be relieved of the necessity of large and speculative financial transactions, and be free from the suspicion of corruption.

(13) Every tax must fall hardly upon some one.

(14) The system of "Betterment" has been successfully adopted in the United States, and its principle in some of our Colonies.

district is being "bettered," transactions in land are suspended, and a consequent loss of income to the landlord ensues.

(6) At present the inhabitants of a district pay only a share of the cost of a local improvement, the balance falling on the rest of the community. To force landlords to be the unwilling chief contributors to a public improvement would be unjust.

(7) An immediate disadvantage accrues to the landlord when a district has been "lettered," since such improvement involves him in the outlay of capital.

(8) Compensation for "Worsement," though nominally, does not actually exist to any appreciable extent, and if the principle of "Betterment" is accepted, that of "Worsement" would logically have to follow.

(9) Under the quinquennial valuation, rates are continually being readjusted; hence any "unearned increment" attaching to the property is of only short duration, and the application of the principle of "Betterment" thus unnecessary. To minimize the duration of any period to which "unearned increment" might attach, an annual valuation might be instituted.

(10) "Betterment" only increases local opposition to public improvements, and tends still further to raise rents, since landlords have to increase their rent-rolls in order to be able to meet the new demands.

(11) The re-assessment of properties after a district has been "bettered" will cause endless litigation and discontent, and no true estimate of prospective values could be arrived at. Arbitration would in this, as in most other cases, prove unsatisfactory to both parties.

(12) Instead of freeing the London County Council from the necessity of buying up large areas of land, the acquirement of such properties, where urgent public improvements are demanded, is rather to be advocated, since, after the improvements have been effected, such

areas could be resold at an enhanced rate for the benefit of the community. It would be unjust to tax landlords in order to avoid the suspicion of corruption attaching to a public body.

(13) Many present site-owners bought with the increment in view.

(14) It has still to be shown that experiments in "Betterment," as made in the United States and elsewhere, work successfully.

(15†) The rent-charge under the scheme of "Betterment" would tend to convert a freehold into a leasehold property; eventually, also, this new imposition would inevitably fall upon the tenant.

(16†) The drawbacks to "Betterment" would be minimized if the landlord had the option of compelling the London County Council to purchase his property at its market value, in case he preferred this to retaining it under the new system. This would, indeed, be the only equitable basis on which the scheme could be adopted.

*See also LAND VALUES.*

## BICYCLE TAX

**Pro :** (1) Those who intend to buy a bicycle can afford to pay, either directly or indirectly, a small tax upon it.

(2) A Bicycle Tax would add enormously to the revenue, and, if levied directly, be no harder to collect than that on dogs.

(3) Exceptions might be made in the case of those using bicycles for business purposes, or labourers going to their work; yet it would be no great hardship if even they had to pay a nominal annual tax, since that on dogs, which, as a rule, are pure luxuries, is not found to be prohibitive.

(4) The proposed tax, though belated, is not thereby invalidated. Taxation generally tends to increase, in order to meet the growing national expenditure.

**Con :** (1) A Bicycle Tax, if levied on the manufacturer, would raise the price of bicycles; if levied on the owner, it would reduce the number of riders, in both cases tending to depress the industry.

(2) If levied directly, it would lead to constant annoyance; if otherwise, it would merely increase the number of indirectly-taxed articles; and indirect taxation is a most undesirable way of raising revenue. (*See TAXATION: INDIRECT.*)

(3) Bicycles are a great boon, often almost a necessity, to working men, and, in addition, make it possible for them and others of limited means to live in healthy neighbourhoods at some distance from their work. They also afford a cheap and healthy amusement to thousands of people. If the tax were merely nominal in amount the revenue would scarcely benefit—probably it would scarcely pay for the cost of collection.

(4) If imposed, the tax should have been levied many years ago. It would now be extremely unpopular, and no Government would care to introduce it.

## BIMETALLISM

**Pro :** (1) All the professors of political economy in Great Britain are agreed not only on the possibility of an international ratio being stable, but also on the desirability of arriving at one.

(2) The currency of the world has for many centuries consisted of gold and silver, circulating concurrently. Gold Monometallism was first established by England in 1816; but it was not until 1873, the date of the closing of the French mint, that Bimetallism came to an end in Europe and North America.

(3) From 1803 to 1873 the Latin Union maintained the ratio of 15½ to 1, despite the gold discoveries and other disturbing causes, and it was not until Germany, fired with ambition by the example of England, decided to establish a gold standard and flooded the market with silver, that France closed her mint to silver.

(4) British manufactures, trade, and agriculture grew and reached their highest prosperity under the Bimetallic system. Since 1873, for want of a Bimetallic system, they have had to struggle under difficulties which have increased year by year and month by month.

(5) Gold is an unstable standard of money when not rated or linked by ratio to silver (with free acceptance of both metals as legal tender money). The injury to Great Britain from the gold standard has been greatly increased by the fact that since the Franco-German War (1870-71), Germany, the United States, Austria, and Italy have adopted it and so created a still greater scarcity of gold. This scarcity of gold (i.e., contraction of money) of course immensely increased the purchasing powers (i.e., appreciation) of gold, and lowered the prices of produce.

(6) The increasing appreciation

**Con :** (1) The agreement among the leading advocates of Bimetallism is merely nominal, and does not extend to the enunciation of any specific practical proposals, which would at once reveal the "rift within the lute" of Bimetallism.

(2) Gold has recommended itself, and is likely increasingly to recommend itself, to the richer nations of the earth, by reason of its obvious convenience, lightness, and value; and we find that as nations become more prosperous, they discard a silver for a gold basis.

(3) When Bimetallic practice existed there were periods when the ratio between silver and gold varied between 14 to 1 and 16 to 1, yet there have been other periods when great changes took place, e.g., at the beginning of the seventeenth century, showing that Bimetallism in practice never prevents changes in the ratio, small as a rule in ordinary times, but great when occasion arises.

(4) English prosperity has been due to Free Trade, which inaugurated a period of prosperity previously unknown. The depression since 1874 is fully accounted for by the vast armaments, hostile tariffs, etc., which have since prevailed in Europe. The fall in prices since 1873 is not explained by the demonetization of silver, for had scarcity of money affected prices it surely would have affected prices more or less evenly, yet this is far from being the case, and we find some extraordinary fluctuations in the various articles quite consistent with a general decline in prices, but still inconsistent with the even decline required. This, however, is better explained by the fact that since 1873 the number of competing nations has grown, and, whilst we had a virtual manufacturing monopoly then, we have entirely lost it

of gold, and absence of the free coinage of gold and silver at a fixed ratio, constitute a fearful addition to debts, mortgages, and fixed charges of every kind. But even this is hardly the worst feature. Nothing is so discouraging to the trader as to bring forward goods for a falling market. Declining prices (a) reduce profits, check enterprise, and retard the productive investment of capital; (b) involve an increasing pressure of debts (private, public, municipal, national, international), under which every trade and nation staggers; (c) discourage investments, enterprises, and reduce wages and employment; (d) bring uncertainty of exchanges and loss of trade with the great silver-using populations, with whom alone we can trade unchecked by protective tariffs.

(7) The premium on gold acts as a bonus to the produce of countries using silver or depreciated paper, and so develops their industries at the cost of ours. Countries using depreciated paper are less and less able and willing to resume metallic currency.

(8) The United States, Europe, and our Colonies, since 1873, have been forced to put up protective tariffs against us, in the hope of assisting their producers against falling prices. Since these tariffs, each fresh fall of prices has meant a fresh increase of hostile tariffs, because, the hostile tariffs being chiefly specific, each fresh fall leaves our manufacturers, after paying the hostile tariffs, a smaller profit.

(9) No Bimetallist wants any nation by itself to establish the bimetallic ratio, but only by agreement with the other powers. The United States, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Greece, and Austria are now ready to do so, and England alone blocks the way.

(10) England acquired her commercial superiority long before she had a gold standard. Sixteen years before she adopted it the monopoly of almost all the trade of the world was in her hands. That

now, and the productive powers of mankind have outgrown their consumptive power. Hence result stagnation and a fall in prices, which, as is natural, takes a more spasmodic and uneven form than would one from scarcity of money.

(5) The experience of well-nigh a century has proved that our system of currency is suited to the wants of a great commercial country, and that to depart from it would probably be disastrous to our trade and credit.

(6) The new supply of gold in recent years has been far beyond any currency demand. The use of credit instruments (cheques, notes, etc.) has largely superseded the need of gold money. (a) The fall in prices is due to over-production of goods. (b) Bimetallism, to meet the pressure of debts on the individual, would practically compel his creditors to make him a present of a considerable percentage of his indebtedness. (c) By depreciating the currency we should be inflicting a heavy blow to thrift in all its forms; whereas the continued appreciation of gold, if such were the case, would encourage thrift, and enhance the price of "gilt-edged" securities. (d) If each man had the option of paying his neighbour either in gold or in silver, the difficulties of exchange would probably be imported into the daily operations of our national life.

(7) Germany, our most serious competitor, has a gold standard.

(8) If it raised prices, say of wheat or cotton, Bimetallism would be a direct attack upon every artisan and labourer in the country, since their well-being depends, above all things, on the cheapness of the necessities of life. It has yet to be proved that a mere increase of the stock of money would raise prices; unless it raised the demand for commodities, it would certainly not do so.

(9) No such international agreement as that contemplated by Bimetallists is possible; even if it were, it is not such as England, being the chief creditor of the world,

monopoly is here no longer. Her commercial superiority is due to the energy and determination of the Anglo-Saxon race, to her insular position, good harbours, the fact that she is the "carrier" of the world, and her two centuries of internal peace and accumulating capital. The gold standard has been from first to last a source of inconvenience and danger; but up to 1873 she was saved from the difficulties which have since beset her, by the double standard of France.

(11) Bimetallism does not attempt to fix the value of gold and silver; it does not even attempt to fix their relative values; all it does is to create a demand for them at the legal ratio. Bimetallism is not, therefore, opposed to the laws of supply and demand, nor does it interfere with them, but is based upon them. The greater the number of mints open to the free coinage of gold and silver, the greater will be the demand for these metals at the legal ratio, the greater therefore the minuteness with which this ratio will be maintained. But should, by any chance, the market prices of the two metals deviate from the fixed legal ratio, an increased demand will at once arise for the cheaper metal, which will continue until the legal and the market ratio are again identical. Through this "compensatory action" Bimetallism secures in an automatic manner the constant equilibrium between the two metals at the legal rates.

(12\*) Bimetallism would re-establish a means of steady exchange between those who use silver money (700 millions) and those who use gold (300 millions), because as long as there are mints open to receive both metals, as in France from 1803 to 1873, at the rate of 100 francs (£4) for one ounce of gold, and 100 francs (£4) for fifteen and a half ounces of silver, no one will give more or take less than those mints will give; and therefore, at the ratio of 15½ to 1, everyone everywhere will exchange silver and gold,

can assent to, for it would simply amount to an invitation to her debtors to pay her in a depreciated metal.

(10) The monometallic gold standard of England has existed in practice not only from 1816, but from the beginning of the eighteenth century. England did not acquire a monopoly of the world's trade until after the introduction of monometallism. So late as 1836 she imported three-quarters of the manufactured cotton goods, and exports of silk and wool were rapidly declining. In 1838 the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in a petition to Parliament stated that Saxony exported four times as much cotton hosiery as Great Britain.

(11) Open mints did not create a demand in any real sense, for when the silver was coined, people did not want it.



and products priced in silver or in gold, at a steady exchange.

(13\*) England's greatest interests rest on the solvency and prosperity of her customers, both of which are now endangered by the insidious progress of the appreciation of gold.

### BISHOPS : their Exclusion from the House of Lords

**Pro :** (1) As the clergy cannot become members of the House of Commons, it is difficult to see why Bishops should be allowed to remain in the House of Lords, since they cannot and do not represent the interests of the beneficed clergy.

(2) Their work mainly lies in guarding their own temporalities.

(3) Their presence in the Lords keeps them from their dioceses too long in the year, and their dioceses suffer accordingly. This is specially the case with the junior Bishop, who is *ex officio* Chaplain of the House.

(4) Their presence in the Lords is a source of religious jealousy by the dissenters, who would, indeed, rather see the clergy sit in the Commons.

(5) Bishops are rarely fitted by circumstances or temperament to be good legislators.

(6) Though the position of the Bishops may be constitutional, that is no valid reason for their retention after their presence has been shown to be no longer beneficial. When the Church was first represented in the House of Lords, the whole of the country was of one faith. This is no longer the case, and the Bishops only represent one of many religious sections of the population.

**Con :** (1) By the exclusion of the Bishops, the Church would be deprived of all Parliamentary representation. This would be grossly unjust, since her clergy cannot sit in the Commons, although this privilege is allowed to dissenting ministers.

(2) The Bishops, being independent of party, do very useful work as guardians of the interests of the Church and religion, and in educational questions their advice is of great importance. They take a statesmanlike view of questions of public policy.

(3) Their presence in the Lords involves no interference with their diocesan duties, since, as they form the governing body of the Church, they are obliged to spend a certain part of the year in the metropolis.

(4) There is no reason why their presence in the Lords should be regarded as a grievance by the dissenters, nor would their withdrawal weaken the cry for Disestablishment. It would be anomalous that the Church alone among public bodies should be unrepresented in Parliament.

(5) They are among the few members of the Lords who sit by virtue of merit and not of birth, and their absence would decidedly weaken the House.

(6) Their legislative functions are an integral part of the Constitution. They represent the National Church.

*See also* **DISENDOWMENT ; DISESTABLISHMENT.**

### BLASPHEMY LAWS : their Abolition

**Pro :** (1) By the law as it stands any Unitarian or other non-Trinitarian denying the divinity of Christ, not necessarily offensively, may be indicted for blasphemy.

**Con :** (1) There are certain rules of morality which are so universal, and so deeply underlie the conscience of every one, that speeches and writings which treat them with



which it is, in fact, impossible to distinguish from mere schism.

(2) An orthodox lecturer beaten in debate can turn the criminal law on to his opponent. Freedom of opinion ought not to be thus needlessly restricted. An honest atheist is entitled to express his beliefs just as much as any one else holding opinion on religious matters. There is not necessarily any indecency in want of faith. Any laws of the kind should content themselves with prohibiting, not the matter, but the manner of expression. No opinions honestly held by a sane man should give cause of offence if becomingly expressed.

(3) If Christianity be true, blasphemy laws are needless; if false, such artificial means will not avail to save it.

public contempt are rightly deemed to constitute a constructive breach of the peace. The more rigorous of the blasphemy laws are no longer appealed to now; many laws remain on the statute book which are never put into force; and it would be impossible to repeal all useless laws.

(2) Blasphemy laws are useful for maintaining the decencies of life, and defending the religious convictions of the overwhelming majority of the people from needless offence. Any undue straining of the Acts would certainly do more harm to the party who instigated it than it could possibly do to freedom of opinion; e.g., any such action, against a prominent Agnostic or Unitarian, would have probably led to the repeal of the Acts.

(3) Christianity is part of the law of the land; hence anything that denies the former comes into conflict with the latter, and cannot therefore be permitted.

## BOYCOTTING

**Pro :** (1) Boycotting is only a form of exclusive dealing. Its prohibition would be a further and improper attempt to extend the scope of State interference. It is one of the few ways in which popular feeling can make itself felt when an individual does that which offends the local social consciousness.

(2) It is only right that a section of society, constituting practically a *vox populi*, should have the power to ostracize a man guilty of certain offences of which the law takes no notice.

**Con :** (1) Boycotting in Ireland was in itself the direct cause of social disturbances. The State has a right to impose what terms she thinks fit on those who trade under her protection, and to take any steps for the better preservation of the rights of all her members. If a man offers goods for public sale (as a tradesman does) he is thereby under a legal obligation to supply them to any one tendering a cash payment for them.

(2) The State cannot tolerate an *imperium in imperio*, such as was constituted by the illegal claims of those who, in effect if not in name, governed Ireland.

## CABINET, GOVERNMENT BY

**Pro :** (1) Under Cabinet Government each Minister is supreme in his own department, while benefiting by the collective advice and support of his colleagues on questions of general policy.

(2) By allotting to each department a chief of wide administrative

**Con :** (1) Cabinet Government relieves a Minister of responsibility for his departmental administration, and compels his colleagues to support his conduct of affairs, whether they approve it or not.

(2) Ministers are rarely experts in any special department; they have

experience, the prejudices of the permanent officials, from whom he obtains all his detailed information, are best counteracted.

(3) The House of Commons is an institution which has ceased to have much repute, and it is therefore well that it should cease to have much authority. The House of Commons can always dismiss a Ministry with which it is dissatisfied.

(4) Cabinet Government brings the executive into direct connection with the legislative branch of government, and protects the departments from unnecessary interference on the part of Parliament. The legislative and the executive thus work harmoniously together, and we are saved from those *impasses* which occur where there is complete separation between the two branches of the government, e.g. under the Presidential system in the U.S.A.

(5) It has succeeded very well on the whole, has been the admiration of foreign Governments and political philosophers, and has found numerous imitators.

to depend upon the permanent officials, who, not being themselves responsible or trained in habits of responsibility, are not always trustworthy.

(3) The Cabinet has silently and secretly usurped the powers of the House of Commons. The result is that the British Empire is governed by a secret party committee. Ministries are no longer dismissed by the House of Commons; there has not been a case since 1886, the power given the Cabinet by the control of the party purse-strings is too great.

(4) Cabinet Government makes the policy of the executive altogether dependent upon a chance vote of an ill-informed House of Commons, voting on party lines, or worse still, subordinates well-informed and capable officials to the ignorance of a chief whose sole qualification may be devotion to his party or the length of his purse. The State would be better served if the permanent officials had supreme control in their own departments, and were directly responsible to Parliament.

(5) The Cabinet is taking more and more power into its own hands at the expense of the House of Commons. It does not follow that, because it succeeded on the whole when less developed, it is desirable in its present extreme form.

## CANADA: SHOULD SHE JOIN THE UNITED STATES?

**Pro:** (1) The geographical position of the two countries is such that fusion is their natural and inevitable policy. Considerations of contiguity, when considered in the light of political and commercial expediency, are apt to weigh very heavily in the scale against those based on history, and the effect of increasing intercommunication extends, while that of history becomes yearly more remote.

(2) The chief trade of Canada is already with the United States, and, were all barriers removed, this trade would still further develop. Fusion with the U.S.A. would open

**Con:** (1) The fact that two countries form part of the same continent is no reason for their political fusion. Social and political traditions are infinitely stronger than mere geographical contiguity, and nations are guided by other than merely commercial considerations. As time goes on, new causes of bitterness will arise between the two peoples, such as the incursion of Fenians backed by the United States; and, though the Canadians are brought into closer social relations with the States than with England, that is scarcely calculated to make them wish to join the Union, seeing—as

to the Canadian manufacturer a market many times greater than that which it would throw open to the American manufacturer. Hence the Canadian would be a large gainer.

(3) Her union with England would be a source of great danger to her in the event of a war between England and the States (e.g., the Canadian frontier would be very difficult to defend); while, for England, the independence of Canada would remove the principal chance of war.

(4) Canada and the United States have far more in common than can be possible between countries so unlike in every way as England and Canada. (The Canadian Parliament, in order to capture the Irish vote, passed a vote in favour of Irish Home Rule.) Politics are quite as corrupt in Canada as in the U.S.A., and Canada would be freed from many problems which she now has owing to her imperial connection.

(5) The English Government has made many mistakes in the government of Canada, and done much harm by ill-advised interference.

(6) The votes of the Canadians would neutralize the votes of England's enemies in the American Senate and Congress.

(7) There is no reason why political separation, unaccompanied by any bitter memories, should tend to develop a difference. Despite all assertions to the contrary, and attempts to develop national differences, the United States and Great Britain have strong features in common, but it is hopeless to expect that any two societies will develop in exactly the same manner, any more than that the England of to-day should agree with the England of a century ago.

(8) Canada has lost enormously by not joining the United States, notably by the McKinley Tariff. The States are the natural market for Canadian goods, and no loss of this kind can be made good by the comparatively inconsiderable trade with Great Britain. The reciprocity

they cannot fail to see—the weak points of the American system.

(2) Canada does a large and increasing trade with Great Britain. There is every reason to believe that she is really a far richer country than America. While the latter lacks timber, and her wheat fields are being exhausted, Canada has a rich supply of both, besides large coal fields and plentiful supplies of fish, etc. It will be much more to Canada's interest to deal with Great Britain than with the States.

(3) Canada occupies a unique geographical position; and her frontier, though hard to defend, would be equally hard to attack. Her military and naval position is such that, if she passed from England, the Empire would be much weakened, and her position as an independent State would be almost impossible. Canada has made wonderful sacrifices in the last thirty years to bind her people together and strengthen her position; and there are no sufficient political grounds for her fusion with the States. Canadians are not likely to join the States on the grounds of the danger to Canada arising from a hypothetical war between England and the States; her action during the last crisis showed them to be infinitely superior to paltry considerations as these.

(4) Even the greatest advocates of separation do not pretend that union with the States is popular in Canada, but admit that it is bitterly opposed; they allow that America has many problems from which Canada is free—among others the negro question, the diversity of marriage laws, corrupt politics; that America is, moreover, becoming less and less English and increasingly German, etc. The Canadian constitution, based as it is on the British model, is much more democratic than that of the States, and offers no possibility, such as the latter affords, of a Ministry remaining in power after they have been condemned by the popular vote, but makes them responsible to, not

agreement makes a union between the two countries in the future a certainty.

independent of, the Representative Chamber.

(5) Greater consideration on the part of Britain would prevent any avoidable friction arising in future.

(6) Loyal Canadians neutralize the votes of England's enemies much more effectually by remaining outside the Union than by becoming a minority within it.

(7) Countries, once they have separated, tend to develop their differences rather than their similarities to one another.

(8) What Canada has lost by the McKinley Tariff she has gained in energy and self-reliance, as well as in the stimulus it has given to her trade with Great Britain. The suggested Reciprocity agreement entirely does away with any gains that might have accrued from a union between the two countries without such agreement.

## CANALS, NATIONALIZATION OF

**Pro :** (1) Most Canals are in the hands of the railway companies, who have closed them to prevent competition. In by far the larger number of cases, the owners of waterways have barely maintained the canals, keeping them in a material condition, probably somewhat inferior to that in which they were seventy or eighty years ago.

(2) Owners of property in means of communication have no right to abuse their powers.

(3) Canals are a suitable industry for the State to work, as their management is very simple.

(4) Compensation would not be heavy in the case of disused Canals.

(5) Canals are a most useful means of transport for heavy merchandise, where cheap freight is more important than speedy delivery.

(6) Nationalization would create competition in carriage, and thereby compel the railways to reduce their rates.

(7) Germany, whose extraordinary progress during the last generation is admitted, possesses a magnificent system of inland water-

**Con :** (1) Canals are not all in the hands of the railways; some are worked by private companies. Locks have been enlarged; modern dredging plant has been provided, and tugs are maintained by companies to assist boats to pass through tunnels.

(2) Property conveys the right to its owner to use it as he pleases, so long as he does not harm others.

(3) If Canals were nationalized, mismanagement would ensue.

(4) The cost of compensation alone would be very great, but that of re-opening disused Canals far greater.

(5) Canals have not paid for a long time, and are not wanted. If re-opened, they would benefit only a small class. Water carriage by sea is undoubtedly cheaper than any other means of transport when there exists an ample waterway open to all carriers without payment of toll or charge. But the benefit thus afforded can be obtained only so far as similar conditions can be created. They can be reproduced to a great extent on a great natural inland waterway, such as the Rhine, which

ways, and is far ahead of any other country in its utilization of this means of communication and transportation. This development has taken place entirely within the last thirty years. These waterways, now attaining a mileage of over nine thousand, and employing a fleet of over twenty-five thousand vessels, are State-controlled. About \$15,000,000 were spent on them during the decade ending 1890, and further sums greatly exceeding that amount have since been appropriated for their extension and improvement. Inland water-borne traffic is estimated to amount to about one-fourth of the internal goods traffic of the Empire, as against three-fourths carried by rail.

is free from toll, but to a much less extent on an artificial waterway, constructed under many physical difficulties, subject to many costly requirements, and expected to earn by tolls a revenue which will afford a reasonable return on the outlay.

(6) The intercompetition between the railways is already free, and their rates as a whole are fair and legal.

(7) The development and use of German waterways is owing partly to physical and partly to economic advantages, the latter including State protection of waterways by regulation or prevention of competition. The physical advantages cannot and the economic advantage ought not to be reproduced.

## CANVASSING AT PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

**Pro :** (1) Canvassing enables a candidate to explain himself more fully to his constituents than is possible at a public meeting, and to deal with the individual difficulties and interests of each elector. It brings him into close contact with his electors, and thus, in the event of his election, he can better represent them. Many electors who do not attend public meetings are brought into touch with the questions at issue owing to canvassing.

(2) All undue influence is now prevented by stringent Acts. Personal reasons are very good reasons for deciding a vote. There is nothing undignified in canvassing, which helps to maintain the true relation between the elector and the member.

(3) It would be impossible to stop all canvassing, especially that by the candidate's friends and admirers.

(4) Prohibition would be an unjustifiable interference with personal liberty.

(5) Prohibition would give an undue advantage to local candidates.

(6) It would be impossible to draw any hard-and-fast line between "conversation" and "canvassing," and thus lead to an increased number of election petitions.

**Con :** (1) A candidate has sufficient opportunity to express his views in his address and at public meetings, where electors have the power to question him on points he may not have dealt with.

(2) Canvassing should be forbidden absolutely, because it leads to undue influence, and makes the election depend more on side issues and personal qualifications than on national policy. It frequently leads to deception by electors as to the disposal of their votes, and by candidates and their friends in their promises. At best, personal canvassing is undignified.

(3) It would, perhaps, not be possible to stop all canvassing, any more than it has been possible to stop all corruption; but it would be possible to reduce it to infinitesimal proportions and to make it difficult.

(4) The personal liberty of the voter is more seriously threatened by the opportunities for intimidation which canvassing offers than would that of the candidate be by prohibition.

(5) Canvassing is the great resource of "carpet-baggers," and prohibition would be some handicap to professional politicians.

(6) The distinction between "con-

(7) Ignorant voters and "wobblers," thanks to canvassing, are often given a certain amount of political information and brought to a sense of their responsibilities as citizens. Canvassing, on the whole, has a considerable educative value.

versation" and "canvassing," in the case of a petition, could be satisfactorily dealt with by the election judges, just as they now dispose of questions of "agency."

(7) Canvassers devote most of their energies to ignorant voters and to "wobblers"; and thus these classes, which otherwise vote but little, often become a decisive factor in an election. Canvassers do not scruple to tell these men (who are quite unable to distinguish the false from the true) whatever they wish to hear.

## CAPITAL PUNISHMENT : its Abolition

**Pro :** (1) Capital Punishment brutalizes the public, as well as the officials who have to carry it out, thus tending to destroy all notions of the sanctity of human life.

(2) Capital Punishment is not deterrent, and by some criminals is less feared than penal servitude for life. A large proportion of the murders committed are due to influences over which no deterrent can avail—drink, jealousy, etc.; while but few murderers actually pay the extreme penalty of the law.

(3) Capital Punishment, being irrevocable, so long as the human faculties are imperfect, is wrong; with a wrong verdict and the sentence carried out, the mistake cannot be rectified.

(4) Since it is largely accidental whether the victim of a murderous assault dies or recovers, the sentence depends upon chance. It is illogical that identical crimes should incur different penalties.

(5) Capital Punishment, because irrevocable, leads juries to decline to convict; and leads, on the slightest pretexts, to petitions for mercy to the Secretary of State, and to pleas of insanity, neither of which are desirable in the interests of justice. Many sentences of death now are passed merely as a matter of form. This is painful to the judge and derogatory to the dignity of the law.

(6) Punishment ought to be reformatory rather than vindictive.

**Con :** (1) Since executions have been carried out in private (1860), Capital Punishment can no longer be said to brutalize the public; and by punishing the murderer with the extreme penalty it upholds the idea of the sanctity of human life. The sanctity of human life becomes an unhealthy fetic if the lives of murderers are to be held sacred.

(2) It is the best deterrent possible, and prevents the commission of many a murder (e.g., by a convict to effect his escape). Punishment is fully deterrent only when the penalty is to be paid in the immediate future.

(3) The death penalty is never carried out where there is the slightest question as to guilt.

(4) The application of Capital Punishment ought to be extended rather than decreased. It is a weakness that some murderous attempts should be punishable with only penal servitude; where intent to murder is proved, the punishment of death ought to ensue.

(5) Petitions are granted only when strong doubt or mitigating circumstances exist, and such petitions have occasionally prevented mistakes. Juries, as a matter of fact, do not refuse to convict. (Some.) The law should enable juries to be able to find a verdict of murder in the first, second, or third degree, as in France, with capital punishment only for murder in the first degree where it is of a



(7) Capital Punishment has already been abolished in several foreign countries without ill effect.

premeditated or brutal nature. But to recognize that our murder law needs revision is not to desire the abolition of capital punishment.

(6) Punishment cannot always be reformatory; in the case of a murderer, it is better to get rid of such a pest than to attempt reformation. As a matter of fact, punishment should be neither reformatory nor vindictive, but preventive.

(7) In France the practical abolition of capital punishment led to such an increase in murderous crimes that it has been necessary to put the extreme penalty in force again.

### CENSORSHIP OF FICTION, A

**Pro:** (1) The evil of pernicious literature is a grave and dangerous one, and deeply affects the principles and lives of the young people of the nation. The steady increase in crime may be to a considerable degree laid at the door of fiction.

(2) When the self-restraint of the artist fails, it is necessary that the State should exercise some restraint: if the ethical law be not observed the criminal law must come into operation.

(3) The class to be dealt with are constructively a criminal class, and repressive measures such as are required in dealing with all crimes are necessary. Such books are meant by both authors and publishers to bring to the winning of commercial success the forces of inherent evil in man. Preventive measures are better than police action after the evil is done. The jurisdiction of magistrates in such matters is most undesirable, as there is bound to be a great difference in point of view between the different authorities: and certainty is an essential of justice.

(4) Fiction is a potent form of teaching: a parable is but a novel in little.

**Con:** (1) The responsibility of fiction for the increase in crime is greatly exaggerated. The "young person" who will be led astray by fiction is so weak that he will go wrong, fiction or no fiction. Fiction reproduces the spirit of the age rather than creates it.

(2) The censorship involves a departure from the custom of free speech which is a national glory. The social sense will always be sufficiently strong to prevent the publication of fiction for which it is not prepared.

(3) The true censor is the social sense of the people. When that is outraged the police (as at present) are the right people to step in. A police prosecution acts as a powerful deterrent. The establishment of a censorship would mean an enormous amount of wasted expenditure; as the number of novels published would entail a large staff to effectively censor them. If there were a court of appeal, the expense would be still greater; if there were not, many injustices would be done.

(4) Fiction, being essentially based on something that is not true, should be excluded altogether from the field of morals.

### CENSORSHIP OF THE STAGE, A

**Pro:** (1) Pernicious art must be prohibited in just the same way as any other anti-social thing. The

**Con:** (1) True art can only flourish with freedom and with liberty. If the stage take too much liberty the

worse section of the public will not stay away when it should: and the Censorship provides that those who do not wish to see improper plays shall not run the risk of unexpectedly doing so.

(2) The Censorship is a function which can best be performed by one man, if he do his duty with a full sense of responsibility. It tends to ensure consistency, which in all questions of justice does away with hardships.

(3) The thing seen has a greater influence for evil than the thing read.

(4) One of the strongest arguments for the existence of a Censor is that in time of party or national excitement he can prevent the presentation of matter which might lead to disorder, or even to foreign complications.

(5) It is only fair to producers that before going to the expense of production they should know whether or not their performance will be allowed. It is far better to prevent an indecent performance than to punish it after some of the harm has been done.

(6) The Censorship is welcomed by the best sort of manager, who is protected thereby against the unfair competition of those who pander to the worst tastes of the people, and who has the *cachet* of the Censor's approval whereby the better class of his clients are attracted.

public can be the first to mark its displeasure by staying away.

(2) "A power lodged in the hands of a single man to judge and determine without limitation, control or appeal, is a sort of power unknown to our laws and inconsistent with our constitution" (*Lord Chesterfield*).

(3) It is illogical, whilst allowing the Press absolute freedom, to put fetters on the stage. There are many more readers than playgoers.

(4) As a matter of fact the Censor has failed to prevent such matter being presented, e.g., at time of German Emperor's message to Kruger.

(5) The right way of protecting the public is for the police to have the sole powers, by prosecuting those who offend against decency.

(6) Some of the recent productions which have been censored have been attended at private performances by audiences which have consisted of men and women of an education, intelligence and social usefulness such as are seldom or never seen at duly censored performances. A man in a position such as that of censor is always apt to mistake the new for the immoral.

## CHANNEL TUNNEL

The South-Eastern Railway Company obtained in 1881 an Act giving them powers for experimental borings and other works in connection with a submarine tunnel. Under this Act three shafts were sunk, the most important being near to the west end of Shakespeare's Cliff, where a tunnel of 7 feet in diameter was formed for a distance of over a mile. Owing to the action of the Board of Trade, the boring ceased in July, 1882, when 2,026 yards of tunnel had been made. Since then nothing in the shape of actual tunneling has been done, but the experimental works are still "practicable," and could easily be converted into part of the permanent tunnel if Parliament should decree that the work might proceed. On the French side of the Channel similar works have been undertaken, and the experimental tunnel on that side is about the same length as that on the English shore. The strata are more or less alike in character on both sides. The borings on the English coast-line have struck down to a depth of 1,930 feet. Coal was found at a depth of 1,200 feet, but the primary object of the Channel Tunnel Company was to connect England and France by a railway track, and years ago it parted with its corporate interests in Kent coal to a separate syndicate.

The matter once more became a living issue, when Baron d'Erlanger and his friends opened the question early in 1907.



**Pro :** (1) The Tunnel would facilitate communication between England and the Continent, and improve the relations between England and France. It would save time and increase comfort. An expansion of trade would be the certain result.

(2) It would not endanger England, since Dover would command the English entrance to the Tunnel with a battery of artillery.

(3) The passage of any considerable surprise army would be impossible, as its approach could not fail to become known to us in ample time.

(4) The tunnel could always be blown up or flooded: a tower at sea could be constructed especially so as to make flooding possible. It would be possible thus to destroy an attacking force; but, even assuming a successful landing, we could at least cut off all means of retreat. So long as our navy was supreme, it certainly would not be possible for such a force to maintain itself in this country for long. The control of the destruction of the tunnel might easily be given to London.

(5) Even if Dover were seized, it could be held only by the power which had command of the sea. Once England had lost her supremacy at sea, resistance would in any case be useless; and the position could certainly not be affected by the existence of the tunnel.

(6) The value of the Straits of Dover as a safeguard against invasion is much exaggerated. If we are supreme at sea, the danger from the Tunnel would be infinitesimal; if not, we must yield in any case.

(7) Were we at war and our coast blockaded, we could still obtain food through the tunnel. All the objections to the tunnel are founded on the assumption of France being held by an enemy's force; if France were occupied by a friendly or neutral force (which is much more likely, and especially after the construction of the tunnel) it would be a source of great additional strength.

(8) The experimental works on both sides have clearly demonstrated

**Con :** (1) The sea-passage is short, and the discomforts, themselves slight, are being yearly reduced. The gardeners of France would no doubt, rejoice, but the Tunnel would not break a hole in the wall of hostile tariffs which France has erected around her. The Tunnel would only intensify the present state of things, by which trade goes much more from France to England than from England to France.

(2) The Tunnel would, according to the best military opinion, increase the risk of invasion; and Dover is no sufficient protection. Whether or not the Channel Tunnel increased the risk of invasion, it would certainly increase the fear of invasion, and there would be a continual danger of panic.

(3) In the case of an intended invasion, war would not be openly declared; declaration of war is frequently made after the first blow has been struck. The risk of the successful passage of an army, however small, is far too serious to make it worth incurring.

(4) Once the Channel Tunnel is made, the defence of the kingdom passes over from our supreme navy to our wholly inadequate army. The further advantage which our fleets have always given us that, even if a force landed on our shores, it could not long maintain itself there, will be gone. Ultimately every scheme of defence must depend upon human vigilance which has failed nation after nation. The mined tunnels in the Vosges were not blown up in 1870 in time to prevent the advance of the Germans: and surprise is becoming more and more an element of warfare. If such a surprise army once reached Dover, it would be impossible to cut off its retreat, as it would hold the Tunnel.

(5) It is quite imaginable that England might lose her supremacy at sea.

(6) It is wholly due to the Straits of Dover that we need so relatively small an army, and conscription would be an inevitable consequence of the Tunnel. At a time when

that there are no engineering difficulties of any moment to be surmounted. Moreover, the devices and appliances for driving tunnels have vastly developed since the experiments at Dover and Calais were first undertaken, and eminent engineers are ready to-day to stake their reputation on the successful completion of a Channel Tunnel within six years from the date when the work is seriously taken in hand. All that is needed to make the Channel Tunnel an accomplished fact is Parliamentary sanction. The profits of the undertaking are a matter for the consideration of those interested.

(9) The extremely friendly relations that have recently been arranged with France seem based on solid foundations, and render the infinitesimal risk that the construction of a tunnel might create of still less significance.

(10) A steam-ferry would not have the same advantages: as there would still be that uncertain element, the sea, to overcome.

there is a growing determination to diminish the burden of taxation for military purposes, it is the height of folly to quite voluntarily add to the risks to be guarded against. Large additional fortifications at or near Dover would be the outcome.

(7) One pair of rails would not bring the food supplies for 36 millions of people.

(8) The estimated cost of the Tunnel is 16 millions. A fair interest could never be earned upon this sum, even admitting that the Cross-channel traffic was very largely increased by the Tunnel.

(9) We hope France will always be the friend of England, but even now the clerical party are grumbling at the alliance. France, however, is unfortunately not Europe, and the Tunnel will form a connecting link with the whole Continent.

(10) A steam-ferry would prove almost equally convenient, and would avoid all break of bulk for goods and all change of carriage by passengers; or the disadvantages of breaking bulk might be largely avoided by placing all the goods coming to England in crates, as is done at the present time with passengers' luggage.

## CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY: methods and work

**Pro:** (1) Charity, to be beneficial instead of harmful, must be administered in accordance with the principles of social economics. Current philanthropic opinion is no guide to scientific methods of administering relief, and one of the great dangers of the times is an epidemic of sentimental generalization. Organized charity, in the hands of experts, enables the charitable to rely on their gifts reaching the right quarters, and thus tends to increase charitable donations.

(2) The "unpopularity" of the C.O.S. (which is admitted) is really a tribute to the efficiency of its system; scientific methods are always imperfectly understood by average easy-going people, whose ideas are

**Con:** (1) The distribution of charities through a Society has the great drawback that the personal element is wanting. Spontaneous charity does far more good than that which is the result of cold calculation on the part of a professional philanthropist, as it appeals by its very generosity to the better feelings of those relieved. All ostentatiously advertised schemes of relief, indeed, do more harm than good: they tend to create new members of the very class they profess to diminish. The C.O.S., moreover, shows a strong tendency to mere dogmatism, setting value on the expression of the principle of charity rather than on the principle itself. It makes a fetish of certain worn-out principles, and idolaters

largely under the sway of their emotions. The more thorough the work of the Society is, the more "unpopular" it will become.

(3) Close investigation is the first duty of all who seek to help the needy, and is the safeguard of the deserving and the healthful horror of the idle, drunken, and vicious. The difficulties of investigation have been increased of late by a somewhat new phenomenon—the over-sensitiveness of the poor, the result of an enlarged conception of their own case, a deeper realization of the happiness, or supposed happiness, of the rich, and a new belief that the one duty of society is to better the condition of the labour class.

(4) Although not undertaking to find work for the poor, the C.O.S. frequently does so. The State affords indiscriminate charity; the Society does its best to regulate its charities according to deserts, where such charity will be likely to do permanent good, bearing in mind that the good of the poor as a class is of greater importance than the good of the individual, and that ultimate independence of *all* relief is the true end of charity.

(5) The cases usually sent to the Society are those which the public finds itself unable to deal with, and wishes to get rid of. About half the total number of cases sent to the Society are assisted; and, if the good cases were sent by the public instead of only the bad ones, the proportion would be higher.

(6) The Council now consists mainly of responsible hon. secretaries, on whom the burden of local work chiefly rests, and of very active members of local committees. New workers rarely leave the Society from dissatisfaction with the practical work done.

(7) The better administration of the Poor Law and the wider practice of thrift, would be sufficient to meet the present problems of pauperism.

recognize no change. It thus in no sense represents the voice of the living, growing charity of the time.

(2) The C.O.S. is extremely unpopular with both the general public and the poor, because it is so "cocksure" and rigid in its methods, so narrow in its sympathies, so Pharisaic in its judgments and so cold in its attitude.

(3) There is more "organization" than "charity" about the Society. It regards paupers almost exclusively from the policeman's point of view, running into purely detective work, which is better performed by Scotland Yard. Hence the really deserving poor are chary of making applications for relief. The inquiries necessitated by such a system are so protracted that their object may be beyond the need of charity by the time it arrives. *Bis dat qui cito dat.*

(4) The C.O.S. does not profess to find work for a man, and helps only the deserving poor, taking upon itself to decide as to the exact measure of responsibility in misery.

(5) It may almost be predicted that it will pronounce any case sent to it by the public as "undeserving of assistance."

(6) The members of the Council are not personally familiar with the homes and needs of the poor.

(7) The Society, whilst condemning outdoor relief, old age pensions, municipal relief works, etc., as forms of pauperization, offers no alternative suggestions, relying on the Poor Law and thrift. As a matter of fact, thrift may, in certain circumstances, be a crime, since a man's duty to his wife and children may exceed his duty to himself.

# CHILD-LABOUR : " HALF-TIMERS "

**Pro :** (1) A certain amount of labour hurts no child, but assists his education by taking him away from mere book-work, while it affords him useful practical training. The birth-rate would fall still lower were the working-man compelled to support his children to a later age before he could hope for any assistance from them towards the maintenance of the home.

(2) Half-time labour postpones the entry of a child into a factory on full time, and accustoms him gradually to the routine of factory life.

(3) The wages earned by Half-Timers form a valuable addition to the family income.

(4) Although in some cases the father may be encouraged in idleness, in the majority the result is to increase the standard of comfort in the family.

**Con :** (1) The interest of future generations demands that children shall not be stunted in their physical or mental growth by premature toil. Under the influence of the factory, the child soon forgets all that he has learnt at school, and his physical development is retarded. Half-Time child-labour demoralizes parents, leading them to regard their children as mere money-earners.

(2) It destroys the child's chance of obtaining a proper amount of recreation ; and at a time when his life should be bright, it is clouded over by the necessity of work.

(3) The family does not reap much advantage from the earnings of a Half-Timer. Child-labour inevitably depresses men's wages, and thus men and children together may not earn more than the father was able to earn alone.

(4) A father is encouraged in idleness by being able to obtain a contribution to his expenses from his children.

## CHINESE, EXCLUSION OF (U.S.A. and Australia)

**Pro :** (1) The presence of the Chinese in America and Australia encourages sweating ; and since they regard themselves only as "sojourners in a foreign land," they hoard the money they earn and remit it to China, thus depleting the country of wealth. By allowing themselves to be sweated, and by working at a wage far below the market rate, they are the cause of the growth at once of enormous fortunes and of great poverty. There is no scarcity of native labour either in Australia or America.

(2) They introduced opium-smoking and other forms of immorality.

(3) Their exclusion is the only way out of the social and economical difficulties which they have created.

**Con :** (1) The Chinese are a very hard-working and economical race, and are willing to work under conditions which no Englishman or American would endure. In Australia (e.g., Queensland) they can work in climates which are wholly unfitted for Europeans. The presence of cheap labour means that the Australian and American consumers benefit by obtaining their commodities cheap.

(2) They are a law-abiding race, and add enormously to the material comfort of Americans and Australians.

(3) The ill-treatment of those unfortunate people, who left their homes by invitation, was a disgrace to a republican country like the United States, and an eternal reproach to one that boasted of its democratic institutions like the Australian Colonies.

## CHRISTENDOM, REUNION OF

**Pro :** (1) The ideal of the Christian Reunion is not only desirable but absolutely necessary, in order to enable the Churches to meet the attacks of scepticism and infidelity, and to bring the spirit of Christ to bear on the social questions of our time. So long as the energies of the Church of Christ are wasted in internecine feuds, she is unable to do her true work in the world.

(2) All their minor and doctrinal differences, which are after all non-essentials, should be sunk, or natural allowances made for them, with a view to presenting a united front to the common foe. Without this, the power of the enemy will be vastly strengthened, what should be an obstacle becoming for him a powerful vantage-ground.

**Con :** (1) The ideal of Christian unity, however desirable, is not likely to be achieved for many generations. The proposals for unity put forward by the Church of Rome on the one side and by the Nonconformists on the other cannot be accepted by the Church of England, as they would undoubtedly tend to its disintegration. We can only patiently await God's appointed time, and meanwhile endeavour to calm the dissensions and heal the divisions within the Church of England herself. There is at present more bitterness and hostility between rival Christian sects than between them and non-Christians.

(2) The undenominational Christianity which would result from the sinking of doctrinal differences would be a colourless product, which none could accept—certainly not the Catholics, whose one condition is absolute submission to Rome.

## CODIFICATION OF THE LAW

**Pro :** (1) The law is in a state of confusion; and, as everybody is "presumed to know the law," it is the duty of the State to express it clearly and simply. Such partial codification, e.g. the Sales of Goods Act, the Bills of Exchange Act, etc., as has already been accomplished, has been a conspicuous success.

(2) If the law were clear there would be less litigation. The unscrupulous attorney, who is now at the bottom of much litigation, would disappear. Though laymen might still misconstrue the law, there would not be so many instances where trained legal men could take a different view, and thus involve their clients in expensive litigation.

(3) Both the civil and the criminal law have been successfully codified by the Indian legislature, where the law is administered by judges who have had no special legal training.

**Con :** (1) Much has been already done by way of consolidating Statute Law. It is very doubtful whether a civil code and a criminal code would be intelligible to the layman.

(2) Codification attempts to meet every case that may possibly arise, and in legal phraseology introduces the principles deduced from Case Law. A Code requires a trained legal mind for its right interpretation, and would in all probability tend rather to increase than reduce litigation, as each litigant would think he had found some points in his own favour.

(3) It is a mistake to suppose that the Indian Codes can be or are successfully administered without a knowledge of the English Common Law, on which they are based. Their language is frequently obscured by reason of its brevity, and needs a specialist for its interpretation.

## CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

**Pro :** Christianity, or rather Christ's teaching, applies almost wholly to this world, and is more concerned with teaching us how to realize justice in this world than in informing us about the next. Many of the utterances in the Gospels which we take to refer to a future life, and the so-called doctrine of salvation, are really references to salvation in this life, through realizing that we are part of a larger organic humanity. The belief in the Fatherhood of God is a natural complement to that of the brotherhood of man as taught by the Socialists.

**Con :** There is no possible connexion between Christianity and Socialism. Whereas Socialism recognizes that the chief aim of the individual is happiness in this life, Christianity, certainly that of Christ, teaches man that he cannot be happy here, but may be hereafter. Christianity makes this world a preparation for the next ; Socialism, inverting this, makes this world the more important of the two, and teaches that the duty of man is towards the group or society of which he is a member, and that the concept of duty has been evolved by the competition of group against group—in other words, is essentially naturalistic.

## CO-EDUCATION OF THE SEXES

**Pro :** (1) The mixing of the sexes in education being natural, practical and economical, was formerly widely practised in Scotland, and is still in vogue in U.S.A. and in Wales at the University Colleges.

(2) The feminine mind gains in strength when put through the curriculum given to boys and men.

(3) Competition is greater between the sexes than between rivals of the same sex, and a higher standard of achievement is obtained.

(4) Constant intercourse between the sexes leads to a more perfect development of character, and diminishes shyness.

(5) Marriages so made are of the safest kind, inasmuch as both parties have an intimate and not a merely social knowledge of each other. Neither man nor woman where they have mixed on equal terms with each other throughout life, hope for that impossible perfection in a wife or husband, which is the source of so much disappointment and unhappiness in married life.

(6) The presence of the opposite sex is often a wholesome restraint in a well-ordered institution. The heads of institutions in which women and girls reside are aware that

**Con :** (1) In some subjects teachers find the joint presence of both sexes embarrassing. Co-education of the sexes is not natural, for the subjects of instruction must in many cases be different to meet the different needs of after life. In U.S.A. the men have lost that feeling of chivalry which is largely a product of a separate education in early life.

(2) It is undesirable to give strength to the feminine mind, inasmuch as domestic and social duties can be equally well, if not better, performed without it. Moreover, it would be possible (though it is not frequently done) to give women the same curriculum as men without educating them side by side in the same institute.

(3) Competition is objectionable in any form, and should be discountenanced.

(4) In institutions where the discipline is bad and the tone is low both sexes are apt to lose in freshness and modesty, and very serious evils may ensue.

(5) Attachments regulated by parents are more likely to be suitable from a worldly point of view than those formed under chance conditions. Married happiness con-



one of the dangers of a conventual existence is the tendency that a woman may have to a hysterical passion for some member of her own sex. This does not occur in a morbid form under freer conditions.

(7) The presence of women in colleges and universities raises the tone of those institutions.

(8) Co-education in schools for children under ten years of age has many advantages if sufficient care is taken to place it sufficiently under the control of able and responsible women. In rural districts, where the secondary school population is sparse, and its character more homogeneous, the mixed school is often the best solution of the educational problem.

(9) Every day women are moving towards a position of equality with men in the world of work. Educational posts are not infrequently advertised as open to men and women on equal terms. Each day, too, men and women are becoming more accustomed to working together on the same committees and boards. In matters of school discipline, organization, and curriculum, women can hold their own with men even if the final authority is a man. Certain changes are urgent in mixed schools. More women are wanted on the staffs, and in particular one woman must be in a position of authority with regard to all that concerns especially the assistant mistresses and the girls. Before long it is likely that women may be head mistresses of mixed schools, with men under them on the staff. When this happens one assistant master should act as vice-regent for the boys.

(10) With regard to curriculum it must be remembered that a mixed school does not necessarily imply that every subject on the time-table must be studied by boys and girls alike. At the present moment agreement as to the subjects to be taught is not possible, but in due course it is to be hoped that we may be able to decide what is the right curriculum, how far it is suitable for boys and girls alike, and what

sists in retaining ideals, which are impossible where man and woman grow up together.

(6) It is undesirable that at a time when the whole energy of students ought to be given to mental development, they should be distracted by the presence of members of the opposite sex.

(7) The presence of women in colleges and universities, while possibly raising their tone in some directions, tends to frivolity.

(8) It is true that while boys and girls are quite young they work together excellently, but when they begin to develop into men and women they need to be trained and educated for each other, and much of that training is best given them apart from each other. As boys and girls they meet in the family, they meet in the holidays, they meet in the business intercourse of life, later on they meet as fellow-students and fellow-workers in the world.

(9) If while at school they work at the same subjects, they have material for pleasant intercourse when they meet, and reverence and intellectual sympathy keep off the nervousness and contempt which is sometimes thought so inevitable. Sir William Collins pointed out some time ago that men and women have the same capacity for acquiring knowledge, but that they arrive at that knowledge in a different manner, and until boys and girls have learnt the control of men and women they need to be controlled and taught by experienced members of their respective sexes.

(10) The opposition of the women teachers is based on three reasons; there is a natural objection felt to working in a school entirely controlled by a man, with his presumed ignorance of girl nature; there is the perfectly legitimate professional feeling that mixed schools lessen the number of positions of authority open to women; there is the further feeling that the curriculum, drawn up by the head master, is not altogether suitable for girls.

precautions are to be taken to prevent over-study and over-stimulation.

## COMMON-LANDS, ENCLOSURE OF

**Pro :** (1) The enclosure of Common-lands has been one of the greatest instruments whereby the land of England has been brought into a state of thorough cultivation, under which it is able to support far more people than would otherwise have been the case. The rights of the Lords of the Manor in Common-lands had been recognized by Parliament for more than 600 years under the Statute of Merton; and therefore for Parliament virtually to repeal this Act and abolish these rights without compensation would be pure spoliation.

(2) Except in the neighbourhood of large towns, where the inhabitants are, or ought to be, able to look after their own interests without the assistance of a special Act, Common rights are a matter between the Commoners and the lord. In country districts there is no need for any open ground, and the people are most indifferent as to their rights, which indeed have lapsed by non-user. The enclosure of common fields was one step forward in a movement which altered the whole face of the country; and led to an extraordinary increase in population and national power, and to a general raising of the intellectual status of the people. Common field husbandry was wasteful; the labour saved by the enclosure acts was set free for other purposes.

(3) There is no evidence to show that there ever was a time when the Lord of the Manor did not exist; nor is the commonly accepted theory of a primitive communism, on which the lord was a later graft, borne out by closer examination.

(4) The labourer's wage has improved through the enclosure of Commons, and his standard of comfort has risen enormously. The growth of population has made it

**Con :** (1) The Statute of Merton (A.D. 1235) had been obsolete for many years when it was revived by the landlords to support a policy of spoliation.

(2) In the neighbourhood of large towns Commons are especially necessary; and it is here that they have suffered more than anywhere else at the hands of the jerry-builder and the greed of the lord. Even in the country districts, now that England is so much enclosed, it is only right that open spaces should remain for the recreation of the people, bringing the very poorest into touch with nature. In 1845 the Corn Laws were repealed and foreign grain admitted; this altered the conditions of the problem. Though previously beneficial, it was no longer of importance to bring every acre of the country under corn, and the large town populations springing up made it essential to preserve an adequate area of land the enjoyment of which should not be at the will of individuals. The Commons give that variety and freedom to rural life which the inhabitants of a district look upon it as their home.

(3) The lord was, according to very eminent authorities, a later importation into a system of communistic village groups, whose members held the land belonging to the group in common, and the Common-lands are a relic of this previously existing state of society.

(4) By the enclosure of the Common-lands, the labourers lost the right to feed cattle or sheep, and to dig turf, or cut gorse, bracken, or heather for fuel, litter, or thatching; and although these privileges are not of as much value as formerly, they received no compensation for them. In any case, the Commons formed a most acceptable recreation ground, and the Common right was valued by adjoining landowners as



impossible to turn cattle out on Commons; cheap coal has superseded turf or gorse for fuel, and bracken and heather are no longer used for litter or thatching.

(5) Near London the Commons afford ruffians ground on which to ply their trade (threatening passers-by with violence, especially at night, etc.). They also facilitate improper assignations.

(6) Even where it may in the public interest be right to keep Common-lands open, and to put them into the hands of public bodies, compensation ought to be paid for all rights dispossessed.

(7) No District Councils, in fact no public bodies, are fit to be entrusted with such wide powers.

a means of preventing lords from enclosing and encroaching on Common-land.

(5) Cases of robbery, etc., on Commons near London are very rare, and might be altogether prevented by a more efficient police patrol.

(6) The lord's "rights," which are very often mythical, ought to be carefully examined before compensation is paid.

(7) Representative bodies (e.g., District Councils) should have power to take over and manage all Commons within their districts.

## COMPENSATION TO PUBLICANS

**Pro:** (1) The State has always recognized that where a man is for the public benefit deprived of his means of existence through no fault of his own, he ought to receive compensation (e.g. slave-owners received £20,000,000).

(2) The State has recognized the drink traffic as legitimate. An enormous amount of capital has been invested in it, and the licence has always been regarded as renewable, subject only to good conduct. Many have entered the trade, and invested their savings in it on this assumption. Parliament has also decided that compensation should accompany non-renewal of a licence; and in assessing the value of a property for death duties the value of the individual interest is assessed on the supposition that the licence will continue to be renewed, as a legally vested interest.

(3) It would be inequitable to apply the principle of taxing unearned increment to public-houses alone.

(4) Brewers and distillers, as well as publicans, should receive compensation, if compensation be right in principle.

**Con:** (1) The State has never recognized any claim of the publican for a renewal of his licence, which is granted yearly, in the interests, not of the individual, but of the public. The right of slave-owners was not subject to an annual licence, and the money was not given as compensation, but as a free gift.

(2) To claim a vested interest in a licence is to give an artificial value to a privilege. It was decided by the House of Lords (1891) that there is no obligation on the authorities to give any reason for declining to renew a licence.

(3) Compensation is unnecessary, because, by virtue of the monopoly derived from the limitation of licences, publicans have already had the equivalent of compensation in advance, and, like all monopolists, must take the risk of a monopoly being withdrawn.

(4) The brewers and distillers, not the publicans, would reap the benefit of compensation, owing to the system of tied houses.

*See also* GOTHENBURG SYSTEM; LOCAL OPTION; LOCAL VETO; LICENSING ACT; DRINK, FREE TRADE IN.

# CONSCRIPTION, MILITARY, FOR ENGLAND

**Pro :** (1) The English army is ridiculously small compared with those of other nations; were war to break out and our ships to fail us, we should be at the mercy of any force that could effect a landing.

(2) The discipline of universal drill and barrack-life is very good for a nation, and creates habits of order and loyalty, which are the greatest safeguards for society against revolution. (See SERVICE, COMPULSORY UNIVERSAL.)

(3) The hardships are much exaggerated. In Germany only sons of widows, etc., are exempt; drill interferes very little with the capacity for other work, as is shown by the position of Germany in the commercial world. Society has great claims on the individual, since it is only owing to his life in an organized State, and to the labours of those who preceded him, that civilized life is possible to him; hence it is only fair that, in return, he should make some sacrifices for his successors.

(4) The Territorials are quite inadequate. The numbers—under 300,000—are insufficient for the purposes of defence. One hundred and ninety-six Territorial batteries, by reason of their unsatisfactory composition, their want of proper organization and their lack of sufficient training and gun practice, would not be of the slightest use in the field, but would be a positive source of danger, if reliance were placed upon them. The Territorial artillery would be useless in face of a surprise invasion. Not only is the Territorial Army deficient in numbers, but also its soldiers are too young and too little trained in musketry to take the field without long delay.

(5) If a country is worth living in, it is worth fighting for. In this view the duty of national defence becomes an essential part of the creed of a democracy. No Government which rests upon the will of the people can justify its existence unless its constituents think well

**Con :** (1) As long as England holds the sea, her army is of no consequence; if she loses that, she must in any case come to terms.

(2) The military system develops bullying in the officers and servility in the men. Nowhere is Socialism more rampant than in Germany. (See SERVICE, COMPULSORY UNIVERSAL.)

(3) The hardships of military service fall very heavily on the poor, who lose much time by it. Germany has made great strides, but the progress would have been much greater had it not been hampered by Conscription.

(4) After long years of muddle at the War Office the Territorial Forces Act (1907), provides the nation with an efficient army, and its success has proved a crushing blow to the agitation for conscription. Steps were taken in 1909 for the formation of a Territorial Reserve, the strength of which is to be about 80,000 men. In the case of a surprise invasion, we should have the regulars at home. The Defence Committee in 1907 said that only a raid of 5,000 men, or two raids of 5,000 men, was to be guarded against. Our policy should be to keep at home a second line force large enough to ensure that, if the enemy should bring his troops in sufficiently large numbers, he would require transports of such magnitude that the Navy would have a target to hit. Such a second line force is provided by the Territorial Army.

(5) Armed peace, with its crushing taxation and periodical panics, is almost as bad as war. The dominance of the military caste is a living fact in Germany under its system of conscription; in England, where we depend for our army on the voluntary system, it is unknown.

(6) Under present conditions it is not at all likely that the nation would accept Conscription or compulsory service or compulsory training, therefore we ought to get every single man we can lay hold of to join the Territorials. The Territorials

enough of it to make the last sacrifice of their own lives in its support. Moreover, it is only through a system of national defence, in which every citizen is trained to arms, that the danger of the dominance of a military caste and the risk of war to which this may expose a country is certainly avoided. There can be no surer guarantee of peace than the knowledge of every citizen that if he votes for war he will himself be called upon to fight.

(6) The general staffs of France, Japan and Germany are convinced that infantry cannot be made from reliable soldiers with less than five years of such training as they impose on their conscripts, and that cavalry and artillery probably want more. The Swiss Militia is based on the cantonal system. The Swiss know that their liberty rests on better security than their own. The United States militia are State rather than Federal troops; and the Federal Government finds it more and more necessary to develop a regular army for fortress defence at home.

are the only forces which stand between the country and Conscription, and now is the time for the country, irrespective of party, to make up its mind to do justice to them. If this is not done, some plan of compulsory levies for defence will become inevitable. Universal training has in the U.S.A. and Switzerland proved a successful alternative to conscription, and if either is necessary would be the lesser of two evils to introduce into this country.

(7) The expense of Conscription is prohibitive. Our resources will not enable us to maintain a supreme navy and an army on the continental scale.

(8) A voluntary soldier fights with a better heart than a conscript.

See also INVASION; SERVICE, COMPULSORY.

## CO-OPERATION

As compared with Capitalism

**Pro :** (1) Co-operation, by substituting for the self-interest of an individual or a group of individuals the self-interest of the whole community of workers, puts each worker in the position of being, in a sense, his own master, and secures a higher standard of work than mere wage-labour commands, since the whole proceeds of the work go into his own pocket.

(2) The commercial policy is regulated by the advice of those immediately concerned in its success.

(3) It places the producer in direct contact with the consumer, and thus saves the expenses of a middleman, *pro tanto* reducing the costs of production.

(4) It increases the efficiency and decreases the cost of supervision, as each worker, in his own interests, supervises his neighbours' work gratuitously.

**Con :** (1) By freedom of contract, and Trade Unionism, the worker has already secured fair wages and equitable conditions of work. The benefits won for the working man under Trade Unionism would all be lost.

(2) Under Capitalism, the commercial policy is regulated by a single expert individual or small group of individuals, whether owner or board of directors; and thus uniformity and continuity of policy are better secured than under co-operation.

(3) Under Co-operative management the profits hitherto made by the Capitalist would be absorbed in financing the undertaking, as capital, which is not owned by the labour class, would be just as requisite then as now.

(4) Mutual spying is scarcely a habit to be encouraged. A highly-

(5) It eliminates the possibility of strikes.

(6) Where tried, it has proved very successful; there is no reason why it should not be generally adopted.

salaried manager or managers would be needed, and the workers would grudge if not decline, to pay high salaries to a few of their own body for doing what they would consider perfunctory work, of which each would consider himself capable.

(5) Strikes have occurred in Co-operative establishments.

(6) Merely distributive Co-operation has been successful; but Co-operation on a productive basis has been a pronounced failure. Private Stores are equally successful in mere distribution.

### As compared with Socialism

(7) Voluntary Co-operation, as opposed to State Socialism, seeks to make self-help the basis of social reform. By banding men together for a common end, it teaches them self-reliance and gives them independence.

(8) Whereas Socialism is a distant and impracticable idea, Co-operation is a realized fact.

(9) Whilst Socialism would depose the Capitalist only to exalt the State, thus leaving the worker as dependent as before, Co-operation would make him his own master, and render such abuses as "sweating" impossible.

(10) Co-operation, unlike Socialism, does not aim at the expropriation of vested interests; it defrauds no man; neither does it cripple the nation with any scheme of wholesale compensation.

(7) Co-operation benefits only a small portion of the working class, and thus tends to create an aristocracy of labour. It is useful only as training men to work together, and thus fitting them for the fuller realization of the same principle under Socialism.

(8) Socialism is as easily realizable as universal Co-operation.

(9) Co-operation simply leads to competing societies, instead of competing firms. Many Co-operative societies "sweat" their employees as cruelly as private employers.

(10) It does not touch evils like the land monopoly, by which the mass of the workers are defrauded of the results of their labour.

See also PROFIT-SHARING; SOCIALISM; INDIVIDUALISM; LAND NATIONALIZATION.

### CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN SCHOOLS

**Pro :** (1) Corporal Punishment for certain offences is most effective, because it is prompt, and appeals to all natures. It teaches the boy that the doing of wrong is followed in an inevitable reaction by the suffering of pain. Punishment which is to be remedial should inflict bodily rather than mental pain; and thus inculcate the law of nature that "he that does must suffer." It combines the elements

**Con :** (1) Corporal Punishment is inefficient. It does not act as a deterrent on a hardened boy, while it is a perpetual and living horror to a sensitive nature. Punishment should act upon the mind and not the body: corporal punishment is a survival from the time when punishment was administered solely from vindictive motives.

(2) It brutalizes master and pupil

of the remedial, the deterrent and the vindictive.

(2) When inflicted justly and without anger, it chastens rather than brutalizes the master, and is not resented by the pupil; moreover, in most schools it is resorted to only as a final punishment.

(3) An occasional hasty cuff is soon forgotten by the pupil, and accustoms him to the hardships of real life. No bitterness is left after chastisement if it has been administered for good cause.

(4) It is impossible always to "make the punishment fit the crime."

(5) Corporal Punishment often takes the place of long impositions, which deprive boys of proper recreation and tend to deaden the intellect.

### CREMATION

**Pro :** (1) Cremation is the most sanitary and cleanly mode of disposing of the dead. The epidemic earthworm is well known to have occasionally spread infection.

(2) It can be so accomplished as to avoid wounding the feelings of surviving friends; in any circumstances, destruction by fire cannot be considered as a greater indignity than destruction by worms, the former doing rapidly what decay does slowly. The contortions of the body during the process (which lasts only two hours, and which gives off no odour) need not be witnessed.

(3) It eliminates all chance of premature burial, arising from trance, etc.—a by no means unimportant fact, as recent discoveries have shown: we have it on eminent medical authority that it is impossible to be certain that a man is dead before actual decay is visible.

(4) The objection that cremation destroys all evidence as to cause of death could be met by a stricter system of medical certificates.

(5) The crowded condition of our cemeteries is a danger and a disgrace. Perishable coffins would go only a short way towards remedying this evil.

alike, and is simply a survival of barbarism.

(3) Where it exists, the master becomes habituated to lifting his hand against his pupils, and the mutual good feeling that ought to exist between them is impossible. Corporal Punishment is not easily forgotten; nor does it accustom the recipient to the hardships of life. If so, he ought to be caned daily.

(4) It saves the master much trouble, and is, therefore, often inflicted irrespective of the harm done by the pupil.

(5) The *ennui* of impositions is resented by the majority of boys, and they are, therefore, adequate as a punishment.

**Con :** (1) The tradition of nearly all nations is in favour of a reverent mode of treating the dead: Worship of the Dead has even been a widespread cult. Earth sepulture is alike commanded by the Synagogue and the Christian Church.

(2) Cremation violates our best and tenderest emotions; we could never reconcile ourselves to submitting the bodies of those we loved to the flames.

(3) Premature burial can be rendered impossible by puncturing the hearts of assumed corpses before burial.

(4) Cremation destroys all evidences of the causes of death, rendering subsequent detection of murder impossible.

(5) The substitution of perishable for imperishable coffins would meet the difficulty of overcrowding in cemeteries.

*See also* PREMATURE BURIAL.

## DAYLIGHT SAVING BILL

In 1907 Mr. William Willett brought forward a proposal that the hour between two o'clock and three o'clock in the morning of each of the first four Sundays in April should be a short hour consisting of forty minutes only, and that the hour between two o'clock and three o'clock in the morning of each of the first four Sundays in September should be a long hour consisting of eighty minutes.

The Select Committee which reported on the proposal in 1909 recommended that there should be only two alterations—of one hour each, at two o'clock in the morning—on the third Sunday in April and the third Sunday in September of each year.

**Pro :** (1) The result of the passing of the Bill would be to substitute sun for artificial light and increase for many millions their opportunities of outdoor recreation.

(2) At the same time there would be a concurrent yearly saving in our annual expenditure on artificial light of £2,500,000.

(3) The result of the introduction of the measure would be greatly to lessen the use of licensed houses. The licensed houses do their most destructive trade after night has come: to diminish the hours of darkness during which they are open would therefore inevitably result in a diminished use of them.

(4) It would facilitate the training of the Territorial forces.

(5) The Select Committee which reported on the Bill came to the conclusion that it would benefit the physique, general health and welfare of all classes of the community; and that the objects proposed could not be obtained without legislation. Without legislation people who favour the idea cannot carry it into operation. The normal day is regulated by trains and bank and business hours.

(6) If the bill is to the general interest of the community as a whole, it must not be rejected because the interests of a few small classes will suffer.

(7) If there is a general desire throughout the world to regulate their time by Greenwich time, there can be no reason why they should not also follow us in our alterations made in order to obtain more daylight for the lives of our people. The fact that other countries are willing to take what is for them the "wrong" time in order to harmonize with our time shows that they

**Con :** (1) People cannot be made to alter their personal habits by Act of Parliament. England would be the laughing-stock of the world as a nation which had not the courage to get out of bed an hour earlier without the help of a statute. If in this wide world there was only one little island about the size of the Isle of Wight, and this was situated in the latitude and longitude of London, the Daylight Saving Bill might be recommended. As the Bill now stands it is an arrangement which will give long evenings, light, health, opportunities for enjoyment, and all the rest of it to a few who live in the south-eastern counties, and for their sakes the interests of the rest of Great Britain and its external relationships are sacrificed.

(2) In spite of the Act, our social life would still observe the real hours and not the statutory hours; hence there would be no saving of artificial light.

(3) No such result would follow: the licensed houses would be filled an hour earlier than at present. It is well known that the habitual customer of the public house has his fixed number of drinks a day.

(4) It would only facilitate the training of the Territorial forces if the alteration in the hours was followed by a general alteration in the habits of the nation.

(5) These benefits, if really desired by the people can be obtained without legislation.

(6) It would be most inconvenient to those engaged in agricultural pursuits; and it would mean that milk, etc., would be late for breakfast. So far as the work in the fields is concerned, farmers, like brickmakers, go to work when the sun is up and the frost is out of the



do not attach any sentimental importance to "clock-time" being "sun-time." This, indeed, would be impossible, for Greenwich time is the "right" time only in Greenwich, and often differs by half-an-hour or more from the local time in other parts of England. Greenwich time will no doubt remain the same for astronomical and all technical purposes.

(8) Alterations in the calendar have already been effected in Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria and parts of India: at the Cape standard time has been advanced forty-five minutes since 1892; the Malay States have adopted a standard time. In no case have any disadvantages appeared. France has recently altered her time seventeen minutes to that of Greenwich, and the change passed unnoticed and created no inconvenience.

(9) The adoption of the Bill would not cause any alteration in our ordinary railway time tables, for the station clocks would be regulated between 2 a.m. and 3 a.m. on Sundays in April, at a time of infinitesimal traffic. The interference with European traffic would be inappreciable compared with the general benefit to the nation at large, and could be easily overcome. Several railway companies, including some with continental traffic, have reported in favour of the bill.

(10) Interference with American business could be obviated without serious dislocation or loss by the adherence of those concerned to their present hours when necessary.

(11\*) The bill has been formally approved by business men throughout Great Britain, e.g. by 170 Corporations and Town Councils and 46 Chambers of Commerce; and by select Committees in Canada and Victoria.

ground, and if you ask one of them the time of day he may reply: "Do you mean sun-time or clock-time?" They cannot make their work start earlier so as to fit in with the general alteration.

(7) Greenwich is the clock of the world. When the clock in Greenwich announces noon it is not only noon in Great Britain, but also in Holland, Belgium, and Spain, whilst a Bill to make it noon in France has been approved by the Chamber of Deputies and the Cabinet of that country. After many discussions in the parliaments of the world it has been recognized that great benefits would accrue to countries which adopted a system of keeping time which had a definite and fixed relationship to some standard. The one selected was Greenwich. Germany, Austria, Italy, the United States, Canada, Japan, and all civilized countries have accepted Great Britain as their standard. Each has accommodated its laws to a fixed time difference between themselves and Greenwich. The result is that when we read the time of an event in a distant country we can easily translate this into our own time. There is no doubt about the time at which a telegram was despatched, when a business contract terminated, or when a ship arrived at port or put out to sea. Foreign countries and distant colonies have taken years and years to consider the situation, with the result that Great Britain has been proclaimed referee timekeeper for the world. Partly on account of its unique position, the longitude of Greenwich not being that of any other important country, and largely at her own request, this country governs the time of the world. Greenwich time is kept on board every vessel, whatever its nationality may be, which navigates the ocean. The charts which sailors use are based upon this time. Astronomical, meteorological, and many other observations are for purposes of comparison kept according to the clock at Greenwich.

(8) When the sun crosses the

meridian of Greenwich, by sun-time it is noon for this country, adjacent countries, and for every ship on the seas. To say that it is not noon but 11 a.m., is a form of self-deception which will turn Sunday morning into Saturday night. Trifling with actualities is a dangerous amusement which may lead to difficulties. The new Bill will partly change the days of the week and alter the time of the tides for six months.

(9) The alteration in the railway time tables would be the occasion of great inconvenience, and would more especially interfere with European traffic.

(10) Great inconvenience would be caused upon the Stock Exchange, which would under the suggested conditions close before Wall Street opened business; and others with important American connexions would also suffer.

## DEATH DUTIES (ENGLISH), GRADUATED

**Pro :** (1) Death Duties are less felt than any other form of taxation, since they are paid at a time when, having just inherited property, a man is well able to yield part of it to the State.

(2) They no more act as a check on industry than other taxation.

(3) They are not a tax on capital but a deferred income tax. Capital must not be confused with wealth: capital is wealth in any form used in producing more wealth; death duties in these cases where the wealth would only be wasted are really rescuing wealth and converting it into capital; and in every case merely substitute State for private enterprise.

(4) They are a most fruitful source of revenue, and less open to evasion than the income tax.

(5) Taxation should fall proportionately more heavily on the very rich, who have a much larger surplus *pro rata* after paying for the necessities of life than poorer people; and the common sense of Englishmen will prevent this policy from being carried too far.

(6) Real estate should not escape more lightly than personal.

**Con :** (1) Since Death Duties have to be paid in cash as a lump sum, they are much more severely felt than, say, income tax, which is paid annually in smaller amounts. This is especially the case with large landed estates, which cannot be suddenly realized, or partly realized, to meet the Duties, as can be done in the case of stocks and shares.

(2) Death Duties are a great discouragement to all habits of thrift among the people, since a man will not save money if part will not benefit his heir, but will be absorbed by the State.

(3) It is economically unsound for a nation, as for an individual, to live on its capital, basing its expenditure on revenue provided out of the capital, and not the earnings or revenues, of the tax-payer.

(4) A tax which is felt to be inequitable offers a great temptation to evasion. The increase in Death Duties has led to much evasion (i.e. by gifts during life, etc.).

(5) Taxation should be arranged so as to fall on each man according to his means, and in strict proportion to their actual amount; otherwise, there is no guarantee against



(7) The State has the right to settle on what terms property shall be inherited, and has long imposed a tax based on the relationship between testator and heir.

(8) Unlimited bequest encourages the growth of an idle class living on the industry of their progenitors, and themselves adding nothing to the wealth of the community.

(9) The State may be described as a sleeping partner in the business of each citizen, without whose aid and protection it would be impossible to transact business or accumulate wealth; when the partnership is dissolved, the State, as sleeping partner, is entitled to a share in the capital.

(10) Death Duties enable the State to tax property which otherwise would escape all taxation.

(11) An increase of direct taxation in the shape of income tax and Death Duties lightens the enormous share of indirect taxation paid by the working-class. (See TAXATION, INDIRECT.)

(12) The increase in the Death Duties can always be met by insuring properties to the extent of the duties.

(13) The Duties may press hardly in some particular cases (e.g. widows); but this might be specially provided for, and some hardship is unavoidable in any scheme of reconstruction.

(14) Any sacrifice is worth making, especially to our richer classes, in order that the government of the country may be conducted on proper lines.

extravagance on the part of the State; the great mass of the people would countenance extravagance, if they could throw most of the expense on a few rich men.

(6) Real estate and personal estate are held on absolutely different bases. In addition to being much harder to realize, real estate already bears the chief part of the local taxation of the country.

(7) There is no analogy between the case of a graduated Death Duty on amount and that on kinship, since the latter is designed to maintain the integrity of the family, which absolute freedom of bequest has a tendency to impair.

(8) A leisured class so-called is the only means of maintaining the culture of the nation, and much good work is done by this class which could not be done so efficiently or cheaply by any other.

(9) Even if the State does secure a man in the enjoyment of his property, she gets paid for so doing; otherwise, if she is to share in the profits, there is no reason why she should not participate also in the losses.

(10) All property bears indirectly its due share of taxation.

(11) Indirect taxation is much the easiest way of raising revenue, and enables the working-classes to pay their fair share towards the expenses of administration—no small consideration, when these very classes virtually dictate how the money is to be spent. (See TAXATION, INDIRECT.)

(12) It is not always possible to insure properties, except at a very high premium, against Death Duties; moreover, the Government taxes such insurances.

(13) The Duties press very hardly in the case of a widow inheriting property from her husband.

(14) It is not equitable to throw the brunt of the expenditure on the navy on a particular class in the community; and the sacrifice entailed on the landlords involves far heavier sacrifices on servants, etc., thrown out of employment.

(15†) The Death Duties result in

the loss of an important part of our international banking business. Foreigners are discouraged from keeping their investments here for safe custody and reinvesting their revenues and employing their capital in our markets to the benefit of our commerce generally.

## DECIMAL SYSTEM, THE

**Pro :** (1) The present system of weights and measures is quite unintelligible to foreigners with whom we wish to extend our trade, greatly handicapping British industry.

(2) The time required for learning our complicated system is much greater than that needed for the Decimal System.

(3) Change must always involve some hardships, but this change has been effected without difficulty in every other country, and Englishmen are not more stupid than others. Although Decimal coinage, weights, and measures may be used, there is no possible objection to such vulgar fractions as  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ , etc., being employed also when convenient.

(4) Though the Duo-decimal System may be theoretically best, yet because its adoption would involve a change in the notation of the whole world, it is impracticable. One might go on for ever inventing numbers which are theoretically the best; if 12, why not 16 or 18? The advantages, however, are small compared with those of keeping the present system of notation intact, and unifying our standards accordingly.

(5) There is no necessity why our units of measurement should correspond with terrestrial measurements. The standard metre has been determined with the greatest scientific accuracy, and facsimiles of it have been supplied to nearly all civilized countries.

(6) Scientists use decimals because they are obliged to use the quickest and simplest means, and even in commercial life, strong as habit is, decimal divisions are being increasingly resorted to (in machine shops, etc.)

**Con :** (1) The difficulties of our weights and measures are much exaggerated.

(2) The aim of education is to train the mind rather than to teach facts.

(3) The change would involve enormous hardships on the poor, who could never understand it.

(4) Though the Decimal System has been adopted, there are advantages possessed by 12 which 10 has not, e.g., 12 divides by 3 and 4 and 6 as well as by 2; 10 divides only by 5 and 2. The change would be comparatively simple; it would involve only a small alteration in our counting to make calculation by groups of twelve similar to that by groups of ten.

(5) The metric measures do not correspond with terrestrial measurements, though originally intended to do so.

(6) Even where the Decimal System has been adopted, it is constantly being departed from (e.g., in Stock Exchanges, etc.), showing that it is not convenient.

(7) It would be a mistake to make a compulsory change. If the change is desirable, to make it optional would be quite enough, allowing a universal change to be gradually effected.

(8) The fact that other nations have adopted the Decimal System does not prove that in itself it is best. In weighing the advisability of bringing our coinage, weights and measures into uniformity with those of other countries the disadvantages of the transition period must be weighed against the benefits (if any) ultimately accruing.

(7) The Metric System should—with a few years' grace—be made compulsory, in order to avoid the confusion incident to a double system. The change must cause inconvenience, but it would be best to make the transitional period as short as possible. In Germany, Austria, etc., from two to three years proved to be amply sufficient.

(8) Every civilized nation in the world except Great Britain and some of her Dependencies has a Decimal coinage, and the metric weights and measures have been adopted in all European countries except Russia and Great Britain, and in all the South American States as well as in Japan.

### DECLARATION OF LONDON: should England refuse to ratify?

The Declaration of London contains the subjoined articles, which are the main bone of contention between those who wish it to be ratified and those who do not. The establishment of an International Prize Court by the Prize Court Convention is treated here as being part of the same question.

Under ARTICLE 24 of the Declaration food-stuffs are classified as articles "which may, without notice, be treated as contraband of war, under the name of conditional contraband."

#### (ARTICLE 33.)

Conditional contraband is liable to capture if it is shown to be destined for the use of the armed forces or of a Government department of the enemy State, unless in this latter case the circumstances show that the goods cannot in fact be used for the purposes of the war in progress.

#### (ARTICLE 34.)

The destination referred to in Article 33 is presumed to exist if the goods are consigned to enemy authorities, or to a contractor established in the enemy country, who, as a matter of common knowledge, supplies articles of this kind to the enemy. A similar presumption arises if the goods are consigned to a fortified place belonging to the enemy, or other place serving as a base for the armed forces of the enemy. No such presumption, however, arises in the case of a merchant vessel bound for one of these places if it is sought to prove that she herself is contraband.

In cases where the above presumptions do not arise the destination is presumed to be innocent. The presumption set up by this Article may be rebutted.

#### (ARTICLE 35.)

Conditional contraband (which includes food) is not liable to capture except when found on board a vessel bound for territory belonging to, or occupied by, the enemy, or for the armed forces of the enemy, and when it is not to be discharged in an intervening neutral port.

#### (ARTICLE 48.)

"A neutral vessel which has been captured may not be destroyed by the captor; she must be taken into such port as is proper for the determination there of all questions concerning the validity of the prize."

#### (ARTICLE 49.)

"As an exception, a neutral vessel . . . which would be liable to condemnation may be destroyed, if the observance of Article 48 would involve danger to the safety of the warship or to the success of the operations in which she is engaged at the time."

**Pro :** (1) Britain's rights as a belligerent are vastly more important to her than her freedom as a neutral, even if she is neutral in ninety-nine wars out of every hundred, and if the Declaration of London can be shown to have abandoned even the smallest of her existing practicable belligerent powers, it must be condemned. The more you enfranchise the neutral the more you tempt the Colonies of Britain to secede from her. We cannot gain both as neutral and as belligerent: either we maintain our existing rights as a belligerent, in which case we curtail the rights of neutrals, or, on the other hand, we secure for ourselves as neutrals the widest possible freedom to navigate the seas—in which case we curtail our powers as a belligerent. What we have to decide is whether the Declaration of London in any way clips the wings of Great Britain when belligerent, or operates to the detriment of her interests when, as is happily so often the case, a war in progress between other nations affects her only as the greatest of the neutrals. (Some) In the conflicts of interests of neutrals and belligerents, the governing principle should be that the former should prevail.

(2) Under the existing Rules, as they are generally accepted by Europe, all food stuffs genuinely going to mercantile ports in neutral bottoms for consumption by the civil population have been totally exempt. In the *Naval Prize Manual*, which contains our Admiralty's instructions to British commanders, it is clearly laid down that: "Provisions and liquors are only seizable when in an enemy's ship; or in a neutral ship when actually and specially destined for the military or naval forces of the enemy. Under the Declaration the whole of our neutral-borne food supplies will in practice be exposed to the risk of capture for adjudication by the International Prize Court, and even of destruction in anticipation of adjudication. Neutral ship-owners will not lightly embark upon the

**Con :** (1) It is not impossible within reasonable limits to effect both objects simultaneously; the whole question is necessarily one of degree, and, even if the absolute divergence of the interests of the belligerent and the neutral be admitted, there is obviously a point at which both parties can compromise without undue injury to the other.

(2) Food for the maintenance of the armed forces of a Government engaged in war or consigned to a "port of supply" for such forces is now and has always been held by all Europe, including ourselves, to be contraband and lawful prize. Not only so; food, for whoever destined, even if clearly intended only for the civil population, has again and again been declared contraband, and actually seized, by a belligerent with the avowed object of reducing her enemy to submission through the starvation of the entire population. To take recent instances only: rice was declared to be contraband so far as concerned Chinese ports north of Canton, by France in her war against China in 1885, and while some other Powers protested, their protest never took effect. Germany acquiesced. Again in 1904 Japan condemned rice on its way to Manchuria, on the ground that the Russian Army might eat rice even if it did not actually do so, and this without any evidence that it was destined for the Russian authorities at all. In the same war Russia added provisions to her general list of contraband. It is true that Russia (but not Japan) withdrew from this actual position under neutral pressure, but she did not concede the principle itself; but Germany once more stood apart from the other neutrals, and again asserted that all articles declared contraband by either belligerent must so be treated. The probable intention of Germany in this matter, if engaged in a war with ourselves, is therefore obvious. It is true that Great Britain, for her part, has renounced a claim which she actually enforced in 1793, and now expressly abjures any intention of

hazardous business of supplying either Great Britain or her Colonies with that foreign-grown food without which Great Britain at least admittedly cannot live, or, if they do embark upon it, they will only do so at rates which can only mean famine prices. In 1898 the mere rumour of a Spanish interference with U.S.A. shipping sent the prices up from 28s. to 37s. a quarter. We shall therefore run great danger of a food panic. If we refuse to sign the Declaration; no enemy at war with us would ever dare to declare food contraband, and consequently in neutral ships it would continue to reach us unchallenged. The pre-Declaration situation was summed up by the Right Hon. James Bryce in the House of Commons in the debate of August 11, 1904, in these words: "Food, by the general consent of nations, is not contraband of war unless it is clearly proved to be intended for military or naval purposes. In 1885 a demand was made by the French Government to treat rice as contraband of war. Lord Granville protested in the most energetic way, and stated he would not recognize the decision of French Prize Courts which treated rice under that category, and in point of fact rice was never treated as contraband of war." It is interesting to note the reason given in the French Chamber for declaring rice to be contraband. The reason given at the time was not that rice was an article of food, but that the Chinese soldier's pay was made in rice instead of in money. Upon the opinion of a committee presided over by Dr. Martens, Russia during her war with Japan publicly declared that "no food addressed to private individuals can be declared contraband of war." The clearest proof of the rules held by other nations is to be found in the memoranda of the principles of International Law drawn up by the various Powers for submission to the London Conference (Blue Book, Cd. 4,555). Except for the case of preserved foods—"specifically food in tin

declaring foodstuffs to be *absolute*, though she still maintains the right to declare them *conditional*, contraband of war. But if our enemy, when war comes, chooses to declare otherwise, there being no Declaration of London, that enemy will surely exercise the right, whether we "recognize" it or no. The Declaration has persuaded the Powers definitely to abandon the right to declare foodstuffs to be *absolute* contraband; it leaves unimpaired the right to declare them as *conditional* contraband, a right which we might possibly be willing to abandon if they were, but which in practice we too have consistently upheld. The Declaration merely affirms the British practice, the concessions are all on the part of other Powers.

(3) Neutrals or no neutrals, we must still depend for our main supplies upon British ships, which in all circumstances will be lawful prize in war. Conditional contraband is not a new idea: previously different nations differed in their rules as to what was and what was not to be included in the three lists—certainty has taken the place of uncertainty.

(4) It is clear from the instances cited in (2) that foreign governments claim the right to declare foodstuffs contraband of war.

(5) To suggest that food, except in the case of blockade, should in no circumstances be contraband is to propose what is at once unattainable and in itself unreasonable. The practical point is that if we sign this Declaration, food clearly destined for the civil population of a belligerent can never again—unless, of course, carried in the ships of that belligerent—be seized as contraband of war. The Free List itself (Article 28) is one of the clear gains of the Declaration, and its compilation is altogether a British success. It includes the raw materials of practically all our great industries, many of which—and notably cotton—have been declared contraband by other nations in the past, and definitely secures that in no circum-

cases," and suitable for armies on campaign, advanced by Germany and afterwards withdrawn—none of the Greater Powers ever suggested that food for the civil population of a country could ever be treated as contraband of war.

(3) Taking the trade of London, the imports here are over 205 million pounds' worth, apart from 66 millions of gold and silver bullion. Of that amount, 135 millions' worth, or probably more, come in British ships. Of the 205 millions, 70 millions represent food and 22 millions represent other articles than food; and thus 92 millions, or nearly one-half of the stuffs imported into London, represent conditional contraband. The 135 millions imported in British ships, under the present law will only be capturable if it is shown that it is British property and in British ships. This is decided by the domicile of the owner, which is the proper test. The test of domicile has been thrown overboard and the whole thing reduced to absolute uncertainty. As to the 31 millions imported in neutral vessels, if these vessels are under the existing law, captured on the high seas, the enemy can do nothing until the goods have been adjudged contraband by a prize court. That is now going to be changed. There are three lists in the Declaration—free goods, absolute contraband, and conditional contraband. What is not contraband to-day may, however, be made contraband to-morrow, and a vessel leaving an Australian port with a non-contraband cargo, may be seized for contraband before reaching these shores. Forage, clothing, bullion, vehicles, vessels, railway material, balloons, aeroplanes, fuel, powder, horse-shoes, harness, nautical instruments, all come under the description of conditional contraband, as well as food.

(4) Those who support the Declaration seem possessed of the amazing belief that anything ever "claimed" or "declared," or done by any foreign Government becomes part of the Law of Nations, and therefore

stances can these materials in future be so declared.

(6) Bad as they are, these words do not alter the existing position, under which the same contention might equally be put forward and so interpreted in the Prize Courts of an enemy. The existing law contains this identical provision, the only difference being that what under the Declaration is now to be called "base" was hitherto "port of supply." The change in terminology was strenuously fought for by the British delegates, and, so far as it goes, is clearly in our favour.

(7) By Article 34 of the Declaration they may be presumed to be contraband (a) if consigned to enemy authorities, (b) if consigned to a *commercant* established in the enemy country, who as a matter of common knowledge supplies articles of this kind to the enemy, (c) if consigned to a fortified place belonging to the enemy, or other place serving as a base for the armed forces of the enemy. It is clear that food actually destined for the civil population could not be contraband, and could not be seized unless either (a), (b), or (c) could be proved, the onus of proof resting so far with the captor. If the ship's papers show her bound for a neutral port—or bound to an enemy port not fortified and not serving as a base to enemy forces—and say nothing as to the destination of the cargo, the hostile cruiser will be bound to let her go free, and this will be the general case. Unless he deliberately breaks the law as embodied in the Declaration, the commander of the cruiser cannot seize (still less sink) her on a mere suspicion. Declaration or no Declaration, a naval officer can always, like other people, break the law even of his own country. In practice he rarely does so, and there is no reason to suppose that he will do so more frequently just because the Court to which he will be taken will be, not his own, but an International Prize Court.

(8) Under the existing law of nations, no less than under British



binding on other States, only because it has been so declared, or claimed, or done. Governments declare and claim what they desire. But they are no final authorities. They are no authorities at all. Prize courts, and not Governments, are the authority for the Law of Nations, and the rights thence arising; and Prize Courts are in no way bound by, and have repeatedly decided against, the claims, the declarations, the instructions, and the acts of their own Governments. It is only necessary to refer to *Macintosh*, *Stowell* (especially the cases of *Minerva*, *Maria*, *Recovery*, and *Fox*), *Calvo*, *Halleck*, and *Phillimore*, to see that this is so.

(5) Foodstuffs ought to be placed upon the free list altogether. The Chambers of Commerce are unanimous in asking for this.

(6) The words "base for the armed forces of the enemy" might include any port in touch by rail with, say, *Aldershot* or *Devonport* or *Leith*, and therefore all ports in the United Kingdom. One might take every port round this coast, and it would be impossible to contend that it was not a base for military or naval supplies, a principle which obviously would not apply to the few Continental ports, and which applied specially to us. Similarly, one obsolete gun in an obsolete fort would justify a claim that a purely commercial port, such as *Bristol* or *Liverpool*, was in fact a "fortified port." Some other expressions in these Articles are capable of very elastic interpretation, e.g., "a government department of the enemy State," in Article 33, and the definition of "contractor" in Article 34. Goods become capturable if destined for the State administration of the belligerent. Under this arrangement, even articles destined for the use of county councils, labour bureaus, or even the unemployed, might be declared contraband, because of their being auxiliary to State administration. Again, goods addressed to any one supplying them to the British or any Colonial

law, all consignments to a place serving as a base, whether of operations or supply, are liable to be treated, and would, failing proof, actually be treated, as destined for the armed forces of the enemy. The Declaration, therefore, does not place neutrals in a worse position as regards proof than they actually stand in now. What change there is in the direction of shifting the proof more generally on the captor.

(9) The practice of pre-emption is still left an open question.

(10) Owing to England's firm attitude, the doctrine of "continuous voyage" is maintained as regards *absolute*, though abandoned as regards *conditional*, contraband. The recognition now accorded to that right by the signatories to the Declaration is a significant gain for the stronger maritime Power. A repetition of the *Bundesrath* incident is rendered impossible. *Conditional* contraband consists of food-stuffs or other ordinary articles of trade which, although useful to a belligerent, are in themselves by no means only adaptable to military purposes. So long as we abide by the Declaration of Paris it is not sufficient, in order to get them condemned in our own prize courts, merely to prove ultimate destination for the enemy's territory. Such articles only become contraband, and so liable to seizure, if they can definitely be proved to be destined to the enemy's armed forces or to a hostile base. Obviously, no trader engaged in supplying the arms of a belligerent would label them to their real destination, but would simply agree to consign them to the neutral merchant in *Antwerp* or *Rotterdam*, who would thereafter take such measures as he thought fit for passing them on to their ultimate purchasers. There would thus be no evidence at all from their character and their destination to show that they were contraband, and the assertion of the old right to look to ultimate destination would therefore be almost if not entirely inoperative as a check on such a traffic, particularly in the case of a

Government would, under the new rules, become contraband. This was specially aimed at us, and would not apply to other countries which have not the vast Colonial Empire we possess.

(7) The terms of the Declaration as regards *conditional* contraband are so vague that practically we give away with one hand what we have gained with the other. Articles 33, 34 and 35 are more complex, ambiguous and objectionable than our present law. Ships will be seized and sunk upon the merest suspicion of carrying contraband. The commanders of cruisers will bid defiance to the law and sink ship after ship, and will be ready to take the risk of the law's punishment rather than lose an opportunity of helping their country's cause.

(8) If, however, the ship's papers show a presumption that her cargo is contraband, the onus of proof lies with their owner, i.e., he can only escape seizure if he can prove, either at once on the high seas or later to the prize court, that they were in reality intended for the civil population. Here we have a new departure and a surrender.

(9) The non-recognition of the practice of pre-emption, i.e., capture of conditional contraband, but payment by the captor—is a serious impairment of neutral rights. England, when strongest at sea, tempered by this practice her action in regard to conditional contraband.

(10) Under the Declaration of London Great Britain has abandoned the belligerent right to confiscate food-stuffs and other *conditional* contraband known to be destined for the enemy's forces, but consigned to a neutral port. If, therefore, being at war with Germany, we board a neutral vessel full of flour, we must let it go, even though every sack of it is plainly addressed to the supply officer of a German army, so long as the discharge is to be made, not at Hamburg or Bremen, but at Antwerp, say, or Rotterdam. But there are no neutral ports in the British Isles. Under the same rule,

mid-European Power supplied through neutral ports. The theoretical maintenance of the principle of ultimate destination is of almost no value at all to a belligerent Power. The concession cuts both ways, and the balance of the advantage lies with us. The cost of land carriage as compared with carriage by sea is by no means to be overlooked. It would materially increase the cost of articles that they should be carried, say, to Berlin or to Magdeburg by land from the Adriatic or the Mediterranean rather than from Hamburg. Now take the matter as affecting Great Britain when at war with a Power in the north-east of Europe. Cargoes in neutral ships actually bound for Hull or Harwich would only have to call first at a Norwegian or Danish port. In the same way cargoes bound for Plymouth or London would first be taken to a neutral North Sea or Atlantic port. Once east of the Needles or south of the Shetlands, it must be assumed that in war time a neutral ship would find herself in waters wholly in English hands, and under the guns of British ships. Thus a vessel bringing corn or meat from America or Argentina during a time of naval war could ride the seas in perfect security, and discharge without question in a Continental port, whence the corn or meat could be conveyed across the narrow seas to a British port without difficulty under the protection of our warships. For goods ultimately destined for Great Britain there would therefore be no expense of transshipment, still less of additional land carriage; the only handicap imposed would be a very slight delay.

(11) The greater part of the articles dealing with blockade merely reiterate rules which have been established in our own courts, and make no sort of alteration to the existing practice. In some cases, indeed, the Declaration definitely establishes principles hitherto only maintained by ourselves. For instance, the French rule requiring special notification of the blockade to the master, which, in effect,



therefore, a neutral ship bound for Bristol could be seized if carrying flour consigned to Aldershot. This abandonment of the doctrine of "continuous voyage," so far as it relates to conditional contraband, is all against the Island Power and all in favour of her Continental neighbours.

(11) Owing to the rules introduced by the Declaration with regard to blockade, the mere strength of the British Navy will be turned to futility. With his trade restricted and his Navy in port, the enemy could safely leave it to a wholly inoffensive mastery, and the command of the sea for the purposes of defence would sink to the level of an unmeaning phrase.

(12) We have hitherto claimed the right to capture a ship sailing to or from a blockaded port at any stage in her voyage. By Articles 17 and 20 of the Declaration this principle is abandoned, and the right of capture is limited to the area of the operations, or, in the case of a ship breaking blockade outwards, to a continuous pursuit from the blockading area. For instance, if Vladivostok is blockaded, cruisers will not be allowed to hang about the Red Sea and snap up ships sailing for or returning from that port. They can only be seized when they actually run into the blockading area, or when escaping from it by vessels that pursue and overhaul them.

(13) The liability of seizure in such circumstances might act as a deterrent to blockade runners in general.

(14) Under Article 55 such a transfer must have been made more than thirty days before the war. Under modern conditions war will come like a thief in the night. The advantage of surprise is too great to be relinquished.

(15) It is further proposed that when a foreign cruiser comes upon a neutral vessel, which has or is suspected to have contraband, the enemy is forbidden, by Article 48, to destroy her, but by Article 49 he is permitted to destroy her, if he

meant that the blockade runner was to be given one chance of getting through with impunity, has been definitely and once for all abandoned; as has been the theory (frequently maintained by Continental Europe) that some fixed line or lines (lines which we maintained it was impracticable to define) constitute a blockading line, and that a ship can only be captured when she is actually passing that line. Some Continental opinion has even favoured the contention that such lines can only be recognized if composed of stationary guards rendering a passage physically impossible. This contention has utterly gone by the board—a clear gain for ourselves.

(12) That, when we are neutrals, clears the way against any repetition of the well-remembered claims of the *Petersburg* and *Smolensk*. We lose no material advantage as belligerents. In the whole history of British war at sea there is, in point of fact, only one recorded case where a ship breaking blockade outwards has been captured otherwise than as a result of pursuit by a vessel detached from the blockading force. Out of eighty-eight cases of the kind, there has never been a case where a ship found on the high seas has been clearly convicted of intention to break a blockade, and has been condemned on this ground. These clauses of the Declaration, though not covering the whole of the theoretical right maintained by Great Britain, embody all that has ever been or could be effectually put into operation. On the one hand it is almost impossible to prove intention to run a blockade; on the other, a ship breaking blockade outwards on her return voyage would undoubtedly find the pursuit of her taken up if she were sighted by the blockading fleet.

(13) The business of blockade running is at best a dangerous business, and it is not necessary to add other dangers to it, in order to secure those fancy rates of insurance and hence those ruinous freights, to make effective that

thinks it necessary. This new order allows him to sink the vessel without trial at his own judgment alone. The mere inability to furnish a prize crew would justify destruction, and so probably would distance from an available prize court, which might generally be pleaded by countries not possessing colonies. This is one more rule which works solely to the disadvantage of Great Britain, with her ports in every sea. It will be impossible to contest the validity of the capture when the ship herself is lying at the bottom of the sea.

(16) Our fleet is now a great instrument of peace; and why should it be made of no account in the councils of Europe by the establishment of an International Prize Court, whose operations will, by Article 43 of the Prize Court Convention, be secret, and which will be composed of fourteen foreign jurists and one British jurist, many of whom will represent countries that have no sea borders whatever?

(17) Articles 61 and 62 declare that neutral vessels under their own national convoy are exempt from search. To take a concrete and extreme case. We are at war with a European Power. American merchantmen under convoy of a destroyer flying the Stars and Stripes are met in the Atlantic by a British cruiser. It is known that they are carrying goods to Europe, and it is suspected by us that the freights contain both absolute and conditional contraband, and, moreover, that it is the intention of the merchantmen, after arrival at a neutral port, to dismiss the convoying neutral warship and attempt to run our blockade. Under the Articles 61 and 62 the British cruiser can only trust to the word of the commander of the convoy. The latter gives to the former a statement in writing that there is no contraband in the convoy, and that there is no intention of running blockade. The British commander, if still suspicious, may "communicate his suspicions" to the U.S.A. commander, and the latter is then under

process of constriction and starvation which is the be-all and end-all of the system of blockade.

(14) British shipowners have the power to transfer British shipping to a neutral flag at the commencement of hostilities.

(15) Although we have not secured the abolition of the right to sink neutral prizes, we have secured conditions which will modify the exercise of it. It is a right which has been exercised recently (e.g., *Knight Commander, Ikona, St. Kilda*) by other nations, and which we have ourselves exercised in the past. The right is given subject to certain very strict limitations, and the Declaration provides for redress in almost all cases. In the past the only cases where compensation has been given to the owners of a neutral prize, sunk before adjudication, which would have been subject to condemnation in that Prize Court, are cases in the British prize courts, under Lord Stowell. The obligation to remove documents ensures that the validity of the capture shall be properly tried. The documents are the damning evidence, not the sheer-hulk, and the documents must be preserved. Under the Declaration it will be most emphatically the interest of the captor to avoid the destruction of his prize, except in cases of overwhelming necessity, and it will, in fact, be almost impossible for him to exercise the right without mauling his country, and possibly himself also, in compensation to the neutral out of all proportion to the damage inflicted upon the enemy.

(16) At the Peace Conference at the Hague in 1907 Great Britain and Germany brought forward independently proposals for the establishment of an International Prize Court. The decisions of foreign Prize Courts are never satisfactory to us. They do not always profess to administer international law (e.g., the Russian Courts administer Russian regulations), and even when they do, they are always the Court of a nation which is party to the suit; that never gives satisfaction.

obligation to "investigate the matter," and report again. If the U.S.A. commander chooses to lie, then, under the Declaration, the British commander must take his word for it and sail away. If dishonesty is to the benefit of the neutral country, it is not to be supposed that neutral commanders will always be strictly honest. It is absurd to argue, as the supporters of the Declaration maintain, that sea power can now no longer be used as it was in Napoleon's days, because "the development of commerce and naval power amongst the nations has entirely altered the situation." Admiral Mahan altogether denies that. He declares that the power of strangling an enemy's trade, and thereby distressing him, is in nowise affected by modern changes; and that, in spite of railways and all else alleged to the contrary, sea power can be used as effectually now as ever. As to quarrels with neutrals because of the exercise of belligerent rights, the reply suffices that we faced those quarrels for twenty years during the Napoleonic war, and that, instead of their alienating other nations from us, it was the very exercise of our full rights that detached even our enemies from alliance with Napoleon, and brought them, and neutrals, too, over to our side.

(18) By this Declaration the whole of our offensive power is shattered; and we are prohibited from even asking a question of any neutral or pretended neutral vessel under the convoy of a neutral flag; and what was called our "command of the sea" would be reduced to an empty and infructuous word.

(19) The Declaration should have prohibited the conversion of merchant vessels into men-of-war on the high seas; which may mean a resuscitation of privateering. Such conversion is entirely novel and without the support of any existing principles of international law. It is of great importance to neutrals that units of the fighting force of a belligerent should not be created except within the jurisdiction of that

The establishment of an International Court administering, not the varying regulations of foreign Powers, but an agreed body of rules, is an enormous advantage as a protection to our commerce. British owners, whose vessels or property have been seized, do not have their cases tried in British Prize Courts, but in the Courts of the country against which they are proceeding.

(17) In the old days prior to the Crimean War and the Declaration of Paris, we always maintained the right to visit and search neutral ships even when under convoy. This was all very well when all enemies' goods of whatever kind, under whatever flag carried, were contraband of war, and at a time, moreover, when, practically speaking, but one war Navy, and that the British Navy, could keep the high seas at all. The right, however, could not be exercised to-day, whether theoretically maintained or no. It is far better to throw upon the neutral Government, if it decides to provide escorts for her mercantile marine, the responsibility for satisfying itself as to the character of freight that are so carried. Under the new rule respecting convoy the neutral Government definitely undertakes to give to belligerents its solemn guarantee that the vessels convoyed are doing and intending to do nothing inconsistent with their neutrality, and to act with vigilance to prevent all abuse. Whatever the morality of her individual traders, we cannot assume that the neutral nation will be deliberately dishonest; if she is, the existence of the Declaration does not in any way preclude us from converting her from a neutral to a belligerent by declaring war, and so adding her to the list of our recognized enemies. The Articles of themselves assume straight dealing: if there is no such straight dealing, the remedy is war. Without the Declaration our remedy is precisely the same; if we are to exercise the right of search we must fire upon the convoying cruiser, and, having done so, the search itself

power. The question is now no longer open, for the absence of a decision by the Conference of London is in effect a decision not to interfere. Most German liners carry guns on board; probably all the officers and men of such converted German liners will have received full and regular training in the German navy. When Lord Clarendon gave his assent to the Declaration of Paris in 1856 he made the condition that privateering should be abolished for ever. It is now revived in a most insidious form. Privateering will irresistibly drive the carrying trade from British to neutral shipping, only if the flag of that shipping protects it. If the neutral flag cannot protect the carrying trade, then that trade will remain with us.

may prove our suspicions groundless. We shall then have added a hitherto friendly and maybe powerful nation to the list of our foes. Remember that it was our exercise of this very right of search which brought about, in 1812, our unfortunate quarrel with the U.S.A. Observe, too, that whereas since 1854 we have waived the right of search unconditionally, and so placed the commander of the conveying warship under no obligation to satisfy himself as to the contents or ultimate intentions of his merchantmen, the Articles of the Declaration now impose a very considerable check upon fraud.

(18) *Pro tanto*, there is here an important gain for those who fear for our food supply. If neutral ships conveying corn destined for our civil population are not under convoy, they may be searched, and, according to the opponents of the Declaration, in some circumstances conceivably seized for adjudication. But if they are under convoy, and the neutral commander maintains that the corn is bona fide intended for civil consumption—then under the Declaration the enemy has no alternative but to let the convoy pass free. Articles 61 and 62 regarding convoy provide a valuable safeguard against whatever danger to our neutral-borne food supply lurks in the wording of Article 34.

(19) Article 45 of the Declaration provides that "the provisions of the present Declaration must be treated as a whole and cannot be separated." If the Declaration on the whole is beneficial it should be ratified. It cannot be accepted subject to modifications. It is no legitimate reason to condemn it because it leaves some matters still unsettled. If this principle were adopted no progress could be made towards international agreement. The Declaration does not prevent the matter of the conversion of merchant vessels remaining an open question. The preamble to the Hague Convention No. 7, ratified by Great Britain in 1909, expressly states that, as "the contracting

powers have been unable to come to any agreement on the question whether the conversion of a merchant ship into a warship may take place on the high seas, it is understood that the question of the place of conversion remains outside the scope of this agreement, and is in no way affected by its rules." The rules in that Convention laid down, so far as they go, render conversion *on the high seas* more difficult than before. In particular, the rule that the converted vessel must, as soon as possible, be added to the list of warships would appear to make re-conversion into a peaceful trader very difficult, and so disposes of the argument that such a vessel can alternately hoist the war pennant and the flag of the merchant marine, and thus render reprisals impossible.

## DEGENERATION

**Pro :** (1) The degeneracy which of recent years has been so noticeable a feature in the more cultured classes of Western Europe is unmistakably evidenced by the literature (including journalism) and art (including music and the drama) of the day. In both spheres the cult of the morbid and abnormal has usurped the place of healthy and beautiful standards and ideals.

(2) The tendency is further witnessed in other departments, especially that of mental and physical health. The number of lunatics and weak-minded has greatly increased and is increasing; and disease, if not more prevalent than ever, is taking new forms, mainly nervous (e.g. neuritis, hysteria). Physique is also deteriorating.

(3) Moral health also is retrograding, as our criminal statistics show. The official reports clearly show that crime is now on the increase, not only absolutely but relatively: it is due to the growth of a false sentimentalism which puts the criminal in quite his wrong place in society, and which is always the symptom of a degenerate state of society. It may also be traced to the growth of novels and other

**Con :** (1) There is no evidence of true degeneracy, such as has been alleged, in contemporary literature and art. Much of what is new, and most of what shocks the aesthetic and moral canons of an older generation, are merely indications of a new and better era; and such outcries as the present one have always arisen when men brought up in one era of thought come adversely to criticize the *Zeit-geist* of a succeeding age.

(2) The *absolute* increase in lunacy may be admitted, but its alleged *relative* growth is not yet proved. Beyond mere printed statistics, we have to consider their ratio to an ever-growing population, and how far increased medical knowledge and greater precautions against lunatics bear upon them. *Per contra*, the renewed interest and the energy displayed in modern athletic games are indications of physical well-being.

(3) Crime has increased very little in half a century, and taking into account the greater opportunities open nowadays to an individual of criminal tendencies through the greater diffusion of wealth and personal possessions on the one hand,

literature of a pernicious influence which is another sign of degeneracy.

(4) Women shirk the duties of marriage unless accompanied by luxury, and even if they marry refuse to face the sufferings and dangers of childbirth. The falling birth-rate is a sure sign of degeneration.

(5) Troubles and hardships which were the daily lot of previous generations seem to the enfeebled folk of to-day as unbearable. Hence the immense increase of suicides. Moreover, the standard of comfort has gone up enormously and thereby an enormous amount of waste is occasioned.

(6) Modern degeneracy has a parallel in the decay which overtook the Roman Empire, and is accompanied by very similar symptoms.

(7) The causes for this decadence are to be sought in (a) the unhealthy lives now led by nearly all members of the community, owing to the severer struggle for existence; (b) the higher standards of comfort, amounting to luxury, demanded by all classes; (c) the democratization and consequent vulgarization of a large part of life, arising from the half-educated masses; (d) the increasing use of stimulants, and especially sedatives, by an ever-widening class.

(8) The exodus from the country to the town, and the disappearance of the yeoman, is a sure symptom of national decay. Crime and vice is always most prevalent in large towns, and a deserted countryside is a sure symptom of a decadent nation. The very existence of an artificial movement to the simple life connotes the prevalence of the contrary.

and on the other hand the reduction (by the decrease in the average length of sentences) in the periods for which he is forcibly restrained from crime, it can be inferred that the members of the predatory classes are appreciably fewer than in 1857 (the first year in which statistics were collected), in spite of the fact that in the meantime the population has almost doubled. Our criminal statistics are very far from showing a lowered moral standard.

(4) The falling birth-rate is not a sign of degeneracy. The limitation of families is due to an increased standard of education, which prevents people from begetting families they are unable to support. It is not due to a shirking of the duties of motherhood, but to altered economic conditions. (*See POPULATION, A LIMITED.*)

(5) The increase in suicides is probably due to the fact that fewer cases escape discovery than used to be the case. An increased standard of comfort among the poor is a sign of progress. The wealthy are less luxurious than they used to be.

(6) No true analogy as to modern degeneracy can be drawn from Imperial Rome, as there is no parallelism between the concomitant circumstances. A great historian has said that the chief use of history is to dispel such analogies.

(7) The influences to which the alleged decadence is attributed are no doubt unhealthy, but they are merely temporary; and their importance for the higher life of the cultured classes is much exaggerated. Certainly in some directions the taste of the middle class has improved, particularly in that of artistic decoration of the home; and the Pre-Raphaelite movement, though not of quite modern origin, never flourished so vigorously as at present. The consumption of stimulants is decreasing.

(8) The movement to the simple life shows that there is plenty of vigour yet left in the people. The working-man of the towns is better educated than his fellow of the country.



## DISARMAMENT, INTERNATIONAL

**Pro :** (1) There is no reason why the chief European Powers should not agree to reduce their armaments to reasonable dimensions. International disarmament will come on just the same analogy as private disarmament. Just as in the history of individuals in the first stage revenge and retaliation is unchecked, in the second it is regulated but not forbidden, in the third courts of justice exist side by side with a limited right of vengeance, and in the fourth private war is entirely abolished—so with nations. We are now in the third stage. There has been since 1899 a permanent machinery for immediately providing a court of Arbitration, and since then International Law has made great strides.

(2) The expenses of armaments are almost insupportable; and as international rivalry herein increases, the burden will reduce many States to a condition of bankruptcy.

(3) Armaments are a standing provocation to war.

**Con :** (1) No such international agreement is possible. It would place those States which have spent much time and money on their armaments on an equality with their inferiors. On the other hand, a proposal to maintain the *status quo* would not be accepted by any nation which has aspirations. Besides, how could such agreements be enforced, or infringements punished? In the case of the individual, there is a power which can and will enforce obedience to the law: no such international sanction does or can exist.

(2) However heavy the burden of preparation for war may be, the sacrifice is well made, as the price paid for national independence. Armaments serve as an insurance.

(3) Armaments are a standing preventive of war; the stronger a nation is, the less the temptation to attack it.

*See also* ARBITRATION, INTERNATIONAL; ARMAMENTS, REDUCTION OF NATIONAL.

## DISENDOWMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

**Pro :** (1) The Church being the State Church, its property is held subject to the welfare of the nation. The phrase Church property is misleading if it means that the Church can exercise proprietary rights over it. The Church cannot hold property. She is not herself a corporation, though composed of a number of corporations, in which the property is vested, and not in the Church.

(2) Tithes were at first voluntary; but according to Dr. Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, in A.D. 787 the payment of tithes was made "imperative by the legatine councils held in England, which being attended and confirmed by the kings and ealdormen, had the authority of the witenagemotes. From that time it was

**Con :** (1) With the exception of a grant of £1,000,000 as a thank-offering for the return of peace, and another of £500,000 for building churches, the State has given nothing towards the building of churches, etc. The property of the Church comes from the voluntary gifts of her members at various periods of her history, and is not national property.

(2) Tithe is part of the rent paid sometimes to the clergyman, sometimes to a lay tithe-owner instead of to the landowner. Private individuals first voluntarily charged their land with it, and then the State recognized its legality, and provided a way of enforcing the payment, exactly as the payment of

enforced by not infrequent legislation."

(3) Tithes would continue to be paid, but to the State and for unsecular purposes. The present generation of clergymen would continue to receive their present incomes, but the next generation would be supported by those who desired their services.

(4) The State has always exercised rights of ownership over what is called Church property. It has taken some of it away, and applied it to secular uses. It has reduced the enormous incomes of bishops, deans, and chapters in past days, and has suppressed bishoprics, deaneries, and canonries altogether. It has altered clerical incomes, abolished many clerical pluralities, and compelled clerical residence, just as it has regulated the army and naval and civil service. But it does not interfere in that way with the property in possession of Dissenters, because that is not State Property.

(5) The Clergy do not receive the revenues for their own benefit, but in return for certain services. They are public functionaries, who are remunerated, not by salaries paid by the Treasury out of taxes, but by incomes arising from public property set apart for their benefit.

(6) The State cannot be guilty of "robbery" in turning the national property to national purposes. The only possible robbery of public property is its transfer to private uses. In varying the particular object to which it is applied there may be folly, but not spoliation.

(7) The Church when endowed was the Church of the whole nation. Now only a portion of the nation attends its services, while large numbers provide places of worship for themselves. Dissenters object to a religious census on the ground that it forms an unjust and absolutely incorrect method of arriving at the convictions of the majority, since all those who are too indifferent to go to chapel, even atheists, are entered as Church members, and

money due to Dissenters on their endowments is enforced.

(8) The right to tithes is a vested interest which the State has no moral right to lay its hands upon.

(4) Parliament can confiscate any property; but might does not make right.

(5) If the clergy are public servants, why does not a charge for their maintenance appear in the national Budget? As a matter of fact, the inequalities in the incomes, the anomalies in the methods of patronage, prove that Parliament did not endow the Church, but that individuals did.

(6) The State would not be justified in applying money or buildings consecrated to God to secular uses: this would be to rob God to pay man. The distinction between public and private property is fallacious. The Church's property is not public property.

(7) The great majority of the nation are members of the Church; if not, why do the Dissenters object to a religious census? Dissenters, by leaving the Church, voluntarily abnegated all right to share in her endowments.

(8) The fact that the Church and her ministers are at the service of all parishioners is a great boon to the poor. The Church has made enormous strides of late years, and is well able to cope with any emergency that may arise. Any member of the community may obtain the services of her clergy if he need them.

(9) There would cease to be the present regular provision for religious needs: churches will go to ruin and parsonages be inhabited by strangers.

(10) Disendowment would give the Church such great power that she would be dangerous. On the basis of compensation paid to the Irish Church, she would be left with a property worth some £90,000,000.

(11) The more wealth which the Church has with which to do good the more good can she do.

(12) The question of the possession of cathedrals and churches



any census based on the congregations are absurd, as, when it was known that a census was to be taken, all those who had not been to church for years would be pressed to go for the purpose of the census.

(8) The fact that every inhabitant of the country may claim the offices of the Church of England and the services of her Clergy is a proof that the church is supported by national, and not private, funds; for, if the State did not support the Church, it would have no right to impose such an obligation upon it. As a matter of fact, however, the State Clergy cannot possibly minister to the wants of the entire population. Large numbers do not want their services, and, if they did, they could not have them.

(9) Nonconformity, comparatively poor though it is, has shown what can be done by voluntary churches, and funds coming from voluntary sources would be much better distributed; there would be no more rich benefices with small populations, nor churches standing almost next door to one another, whilst large areas are left with only one here and there. There would be a far closer relation between work and remuneration.

(10) Disendowment would be a great boon to the Church, for it would stimulate the now latent generosity of her richer members. Though the Church contains by far a greater proportion of very rich men than any other religious body, yet her members subscribe on an average less than those of any other religious denomination, considering in many cases that when they have paid tithe they have done all that can be expected of them.

(11) "Riches never were the strength of the Church. Never was she stronger than when Peter said: 'Silver and gold have I none'" (Pusey).

(12) The future of cathedrals and parish churches can be best settled when the proposal is brought forward. No doubt life interests would be fully respected.

(13) Many of the endowments

must always be fatal to any scheme since there is a very strong feeling against national monuments becoming the property of a sect, or being applied to secular purposes.

(13) The endowments taken by the State at the Reformation were chiefly those of the monasteries, for which act ample justification exists, when we remember that the monasteries considered they owed obedience to Rome rather than the king; other endowments taken were such as had been left for superstitious purposes, and consequently were no longer serving a useful purpose. Two wrongs can never make a right. The endowments of the Church have largely accrued to her since the Reformation, and are not affected by the foregoing considerations.

(14) Disendowment would do harm to provincial trade by removing some of the best customers, the clergy.

of the Church come to her from pre-Reformation times, and were left for specific purposes (such as prayers for the souls of the faithful), while they have been applied to others. If at the Reformation, why not now?

(14) The clergy will exist in just as great numbers and be just as well paid if the Church is disendowed, but they will be supported by their own followers.

*See also* DISESTABLISHMENT.

## DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

**Pro:** (1) The Union between Church and State is undesirable, both Church and State being essentially different, in that the State has to deal with the individual as a member of society and in his relations to the world, whilst the Church looks on him as an individual with a soul to save, and from the point of view of his relations to his Maker. In the past the State knew of but one religion. Those who professed another were scarcely counted as citizens. The admission of Mr. Bradlaugh to the House of Commons marked the end of this position.

(2) Mr. Gladstone was the last to hold that the State had a conscience which could take cognizance of religious truth and error. The admission to Parliament and to Cabinet offices of men who do not belong to the Established Church is fatal to any claim on the part of the State to be the exclusive possessor of religious truth.

(3) The chief evil of an established Church is that it creates a false idea of national religion. It encourages many to believe that their religion is something that can be done for them by proxy, and that as long as the State by maintaining a Church, acknowledges a God of some sort or other, individual citizens need not trouble themselves about religion. An established religion costs them nothing, makes no demand on their life, and may per-

**Con:** (1) Religion is one of the chief elements in national life, and the State cannot remain indifferent as to whether her people hold religious principles or not. Every nation is bound to have a national religion, and to teach it to the people. If the State provides secular education to her people, why should she not also provide religious?

(2) Although the State no longer claims to be the exclusive possessor of religious truth, and admits to its counsels those of many religious faiths, the Church of England is still the national Church, and should so remain. The maintenance of an established Church does not in any sense imply intolerance of other faiths.

(3) An established Church by its existence attracts to itself many who would otherwise join no church at all. Although it may be true that the average standard of religious zeal amongst members of the Established Church is not so great as amongst Dissenters, this is because those of no very strong dogmatic beliefs naturally attach themselves to the National Church, and thus take some share in religious life in which were there no established Church they would take no part.

(4) It is the duty of the Church to bring a moral element into our political and social life. Her connection with the State secures the members of her ministry against undue pressure from the Government, since they practically hold

haps prove a "security against dimly understood perils."

(4) So far from spiritualizing the State, the State has dragged the Church down to its own level, and breathed into her a spirit of worldly prudence, fatal to the spiritual mission of the Church. It is certain, for example, that the Bishops and the Clergy are, largely from this connection with the Throne, kept from denouncing evils which, in the interests of society, it is not wise to pass over.

(5) The fact that she is established renders all efforts on the part of the Church to reform herself nugatory. Parliament alone has the power to alter either the rites or ceremonies of the Church, though it is recognized that Parliament, consisting as it does of men of all denominations, is not a fit body to entrust with the doctrine or discipline of the Church. The part of the 20th Article, on the Church's "power to decree rites or ceremonies and authority in controversies of faith," was not inserted in Convocation, nor was it sanctioned by Parliament when the Articles were ratified in 1571; it was added by command of the Queen, in the exercise of her supremacy. In 1562 Convocation was instructed to revise the Articles of the Church, and to submit their work to the deliberation of Parliament. They obeyed, and when their work was completed they "humbly offered their suppliant little book containing their petitions to Parliament," which had no authority till it was approved by Queen and Parliament. In 1539 the Act 31 Henry VIII c. 14 imposed upon the Church the "Six Articles," containing certain doctrinal propositions "for abolishing diversity of opinion concerning the Christian Religion."

(6) The recent alteration in the law as to marriages with a deceased wife's sister show the dangers to which the Church is exposed by its connection with the State. At present the clergyman who feels himself bound to obey the law of the Church is free to do so, but there

office for life, and are not dependant for livelihood on the favour of either princes or people.

(5) Parliament cannot alter a single word in the Creeds, or modify a single doctrine. The Prayer Book was drawn up by the Church, and not by the State; it is incorporated in the Act of Uniformity as a sign of its acceptance by the nation. The XXXIX Articles were agreed upon by the Clergy in Convocation. They were accepted, not made, by Parliament. The State Services which used to appear in the Prayer Book were bound up with it by order of the monarch, just as Tate and Brady's Psalms were, and were removed at Queen Victoria's command. They never had the least authority beyond the respect due to the expressed wish of the Sovereign, and certainly were not inserted or removed by Parliament.

(6) No clergyman who has scruples on the subject need marry a man to his deceased wife's sister. The connection of Church and State ensures that the Church shall exhibit a broad tolerance greater than she otherwise might, and thus she can contain within herself men of widely different individual convictions.

(7) Upon substantial matters of doctrine the State has never claimed to dictate to the Church, and could not possibly do so; but where the internal conduct of the Church is a matter of national importance it is quite fitting that the State should take a part. State interference has always helped to raise the Church in the estimation of the people.

(8) At no time in her history has the Church been more popular, or more remarkable for her intellectual life and activity, than now.

(9) The Supremacy of the Crown is an assertion of the supreme right of the civil power to the ultimate decision in all matters concerning the internal discipline of the State, and was a protest in the beginning against the arbitrary claim of the Bishops of Rome to interfere in the concerns of the kingdom. The Sovereign does not make Bishops,

are signs that this freedom will not long remain unchallenged.

(7) The Church of England can only maintain her present relations with the State on one condition—the abstention of the Crown and Parliament from any interference in her internal concerns. The Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline appointed in 1905 took upon itself the duties of a spiritual court, and determined what was consistent or inconsistent with the teaching of the Church of England.

(8) A truly National Church was possible only when there was real uniformity in religious matters. The Church has ceased to represent English life and learning. The increasing popularity of the Church is confined to the great towns where the establishment is least of a reality.

(9) The Church is so far under the power of the State, that the State, not the Church, appoints her chief officers, i.e. the Bishops and Archbishops. Similarly, the Lord Chancellor has a large number of livings in his gift. Now the Prime Minister may be of any religious persuasion—he may even be an atheist—and the Lord Chancellor anything but a Roman Catholic. Further, Parliament creates Bishoprics, and has created several in the last forty years, and without her consent no See can be made.

(10) No one supposes that all Churches can be made equal by Parliament; but Parliament ought not to add artificial inequalities to those which are necessary. Religious Equality does not mean equality of sects, but equal treatment of all sects.

(11) The Church, from the strife between her various parties, and by the consciousness of the anomalous nature of her position (which involves, as Dean Stanley showed, the acceptance by her clergy of contradictory propositions), is unable to be very strict in her insistence on the rigid adherence of her clergy to the literal interpretation of her formularies. Nevertheless, ever since she was founded, she has per-

but merely allocates them to particular posts, and in this acts as hereditary representative of the nation, the choice being limited to ordained priests of over thirty years of age. Parliament only sanctions the creation of a see, but it is by the act of consecration as conveyed through a consecrated Bishop that Bishops are "made."

(10) Religious Equality would forbid the State to recognize the barest Theism under penalty of insulting the atheists; if these people were ignored, the next question would be where to draw the line.

(11) The Church has long been noted for allowing her clergy to teach what they think right so long as they adhere to the main doctrines of Christianity and to the practices laid down in the Prayer Book. Thus it is much rarer in the Church than among Dissenting communities that a man is tried for heresy.

(12) It is only to be expected that some scandals should occur, but they are very rare, and could be easily avoided by giving the Bishops power to remove unfit clergymen from their posts. Were a greater voice in the management of the Church given to the laity, and the clergy forbidden to alter the services without consulting their parishioners, much strife would be avoided.

(13) There would be no one in the parish, such as there is now, whom the poor would have a right to call upon to perform services and to minister in the Church; no one to visit the sick, to bring the Gospel to the ignorant and careless, and to pray with the dying.

(14) By Disestablishment, the very poor would be cut off from their only means of spiritual life. Whereas now the Church is open to all parishioners, this would be no longer the case, since both Church and minister would be open (save as a favour) only to those who could afford to subscribe.

(15) The charities of the Church are, especially in the country, did

accused, as far as she has been able; and the Acts of Uniformity, etc., the cruelties of Laud, Sheldon, and others, alike testify to the spirit which has animated her.

(12) Church Reform bears a different meaning in the mouth of each party in the Church, and there is no point on which they can agree.

(13) The parish clergy, especially in country districts, frequently neglect their poorer parishioners altogether.

(14) Even though the services of the Church are gratuitous, many poor, especially in rural districts, are Dissenters, and prefer to pay, that they may worship God in their own way. The clergyman is usually far too closely identified, in the popular imagination, with the land-owning class to have any real influence over the workers.

(15) The charities of the Church, largely bound up as they are with church attendance, etc., and to which they are made to serve as baits, are the cause of widespread pauperization and demoralization. Charity, to do good, must be distributed according to merit.

(16) By Act of Parliament (26 Henry VIII c. 1), Henry VIII was made "the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England." The changes of Elizabeth were wrought in the teeth of the Bishops, who opposed them bitterly in the House of Lords.

(17) The recent Church Discipline Act makes clergy dependent on a partisan Bishop, by enabling him to get rid of old or incompetent incumbents. Incompetent might easily prove a wide term.

(18) Disestablishment has made the Church of Ireland stronger than ever, and, according to her Bishops, she was never more prosperous than now.

(19) The Bishops are among the most bigoted reactionary and obstructive members of the House of Lords. (See BISHOPS.)

(20) Dissenters know that in a religious census all indifferents and even some of the weaker brethren among themselves would be classed

tricts, the great resource of the poor against want and starvation.

(16) Many Acts and Charters recognize the Church, but none creates it. The common phrase "as by law established" does not mean first established, that is, planted or created, but recognized by the nation. The Church of Rome never was established in England; the National Church was always called the Church of England.

(17) Disestablishment would rob the clergyman of his independence, and reduce him to a position of much greater dependence on the wishes of his congregation, especially the richer members. Thus they would no longer be able to denounce injustice, but would have to "out their coat according to their cloth."

(18) The conditions in Ireland, where the Anglican Church was imposed upon the people by a foreign power, were entirely different from those in England, where the established Church stands for the national religion and a long and splendid tradition.

(19) The Bishops are among the few members of the House of Lords who sit by merit and not by birth. (See BISHOPS.)

(20) If the Dissenters are the more numerous body, as they claim, why do they refuse a religious census?

(21) If Disestablishment were effected, large bodies of wavering Anglicans would join the Church of Rome, and others drift into Free-thought, and ultimately Atheism.

(22†) The main characteristic of the Church of England is the number of questions she leaves open. This is rendered possible because Convocations are powerless without letters of business, and no Minister would grant letters of business for the purpose of settling a controversy. The Church is thus saved by her relation to the State from hasty and premature action, because such action is impossible unless she can carry the State with her. The appeal to Rome is for the Church of Rome a similarly effective instrument of delay.

as in the Church of England. No census can give any criterion of the real religious convictions of the majority. Moreover, a man's religious opinions should be sacred and immune from the prying of officials.

(21) No Church is the stronger for having in its ranks those who are not there by conviction.

(22\*) The Church of England has undergone vast changes during the last seventy years, and these changes have taken her further and further from the Nonconformist position. She has become to a great extent a sacramental and sacerdotal Church.

## DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

**Pro :** (1) The Church does not include the majority of the people. She is unable to cope with the religious needs of Scotland, and in the number neither of her churches nor of her adherents can she pretend to serve any more than a fraction of the population. In the Highlands nearly all the very poor belong to the Free Church.

(2) The Establishment forms the great barrier to the reunion of the churches in Scotland.

(3) The State Church holds funds given to a united church.

(4) The Church was also endowed to care for the poor and promote education, both of which are now managed by the nation.

(5) The progress of the Free Church shows that Disendowment would be a gain rather than a loss to the Church, by the enthusiasm which it would call forth in her members.

(6) The State should not distinguish between different creeds of Christianity.

(7) Disestablishment, by helping to reunite the people of Scotland, would be appreciated ultimately.

(8) There is no reason to suppose that Disestablishment would drive the wealthy into the Episcopal Church.

**Con :** (1) The Church of Scotland has made enormous progress.

(2) Reunion would not be helped by inflicting injustice on the Church.

(3) By seceding, the Dissenters lost all claim to the Church funds.

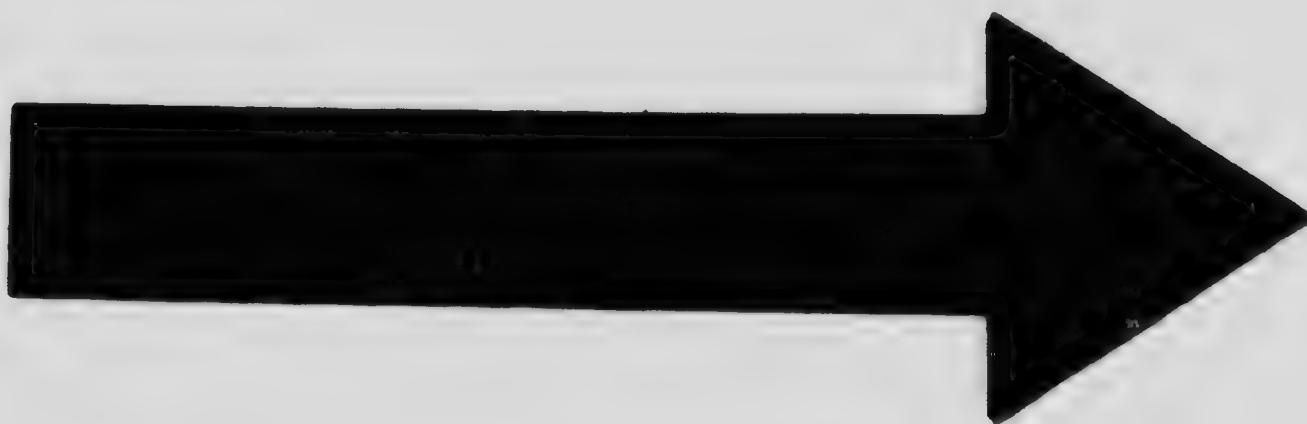
(4) The sum which would be realized by Disendowment would afford small help to the rates.

(5) Disestablishment would leave the country parishes in many cases without resident ministers.

(6) By taking away the national recognition of religion, the State would cease to be Christian in any official sense.

(7) Disestablishment would certainly prove most unpopular in Scotland.

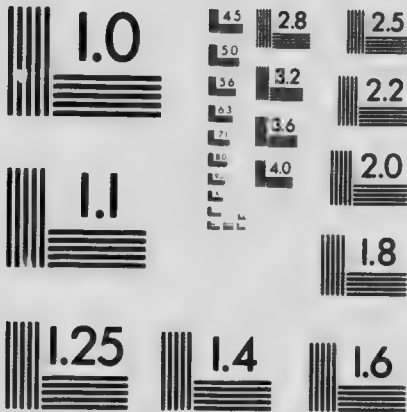
(8) The richer classes would more than ever become Episcopalian, and a chasm would be created between the rich and the poor.





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## DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH IN WALES

**Pro :** (1) The Welsh Church so called, is an alien Church imposed from without, out of sympathy with the great mass of people. Frequently her clergy even now do not speak Welsh, and are entirely out of touch with the national sentiment. But for the fact that the unanimous wish of the Welsh members for the disestablishment of the Church is permanently overborne by the veto of the House of Lords, the Church in Wales would be disestablished.

(2) The Welsh are almost unanimous for Disestablishment, and all the Welsh M.P.'s are pledged to support it.

(3) It is a scandal that all Welshmen should have to pay for the maintenance of a Church to which many of them do not belong. The moneys which are drawn from the natural resources of Wales, and which were originally intended for the spiritual and temporal needs of the whole people, are now engrossed by a single Church representing a minority.

(4) There is ample precedent for dealing with Wales separately; she has already been separately legislated for in educational and temperance matters; and, holding passionately to their race traditions, as the Welsh do, it would be absurd on our part to ignore their nationality.

(5) There is every reason for drawing a distinction between the Welsh and the English Churches; whereas the English is popular, and there is no desire to see her disestablished, the positions are exactly reversed as regards the Welsh Church.

(6) The Welsh Church is pre-eminently the Church of the upper classes, not of the poor.

(7) Even now, the manner in which the established clergy perform their duties is very bad and perfunctory.

(8) The Church of Wales is not advancing faster than the Nonconformists: the progress of the Church

**Con :** (1) The Church of Wales is the true representative of the Ancient British Church, and is amongst the oldest representatives of Christianity in Great Britain. So far from the Church in Wales being an alien Church imposed upon them from without, the historical facts prove exactly the contrary. The Church in Wales is not only the oldest institution in the whole of the United Kingdom, but it is so much older than the Church in England (which, indeed, it helped to found) that, as Mr. Gladstone once said, "It is truer to talk of the Church of Wales in England than of the Church of England in Wales." At the present time her clergy, with few exceptions, know Welsh, and are regaining the position formerly held.

(2) The great hatred of the Welsh people to the National Church is largely an affair of the past, though sedulously maintained by the Nonconformist clergy, who dread the loss of influence. So far from its being a fact that the great majority of Welshmen do not adhere to it—although this would be no argument—yet, as a matter of fact, the Church in Wales is such a "living and advancing Church" that (as the Royal Commission is about to show, amongst other facts) one-fourth of the total number of communicants in the Principality are members of the Church; which body is far and away the largest in Wales, being 20,000 ahead of the next largest, the Congregationalists.

(3) So far from all Welshmen having to pay for the Church, not a single penny-piece do Nonconformists contribute to ecclesiastical purposes, or any Churchmen either, except as a free gift.

(4) Wales is not a separate nation, nor ought the idea to be encouraged by the passing of special legislation in her favour.

(5) There is no reason for treating the Welsh dioceses differently from the rest of the English Church. Disestablishment should be a na-

is much more than equalled by that of Dissent.

(9) Disestablishment and Disendowment would not only induce the laity to give more generously than they do to an Established Church, but, by removing a cause of bitterness, would render the task of the Church in attempting to retrieve her lost position among the people easier.

(10) If Disestablishment would deprive many parishes of resident ministers, it shows how slight a hold the Church has on the people; as a matter of fact, the Nonconformist chapels, as Archbishop Tait says, are to be seen "in every village and on every hill-side"; and wherever there is a Nonconformist chapel, there also are to be found religious agencies of all kinds at work, whether there be a minister resident or not.

(11\*) There is not even that great resistance to it in the hearts of Churchmen which prevailed in 1892. The younger men among the clergy feel that their sphere of labour is narrowed, and that they are in a kind of hostile entrenchment in their own country. The great national life is going on outside them, and they have no voice in it.

tional, not a local, concern; if not, why not allow each parish to decide for itself?

(8) The Welsh Church, like the English, is the Church of the very poor, and to disendow her would be to rob them.

(7) Even if in the past the clergy failed to perform their duties worthily, this has almost entirely ceased to be the case.

(8) As the Church increases in the number and the devotion of her people daily, Nonconformity recedes, and it will not be long before the former becomes the Church of the majority.

(9) Disendowment would cripple the Church in poor districts, where pew rents cannot be charged. It is no justification for doing an injustice to the Church to say that it will stir up wealthy members who have already been heavily drawn on for church building, etc., and could hardly contribute more in the present depressed state of industry. Disestablishment in Ireland has failed to soften religious differences—in the present case it would only have the effect of leaving the Church-people disaffected.

(10) Disendowment would rob many parishes of resident ministers, and thus the people would lose their only source of spiritual comfort at all important moments of their lives. For this would be substituted the occasional visits of a peripatetic Nonconformist minister or a missionary priest, neither of them at all equal to the services of a resident, who knows the history of all of them.

*See also* BISHOPS; DISENDOWMENT.

## DISTRESS FOR RENT ABOLITION OF LAW OF

**Pro:** (1) The law, by giving the landlord a priority of claim over other creditors, infringes the principle of freedom of contract. There is no reason (except that our legislators have always come from the landlord class) why a landlord should be in any better position than any other creditor.

**Con:** (1) Abolition of the law of Distress would still further reduce the value of land, and thereby check the investment of capital, and it would be necessary to allow immediate right of re-entry to prevent the landlord from being placed in a less favourable position than ordinary creditors.

(2) The landlord loses neither interest (rent) nor principal. He is, even without the right of distress, in a better position than the ordinary creditor who has lost both principal and interest. The landlord is not bound by contract for a longer period than any other creditor who contracts to give credit.

(3) The law of Distress impairs a tenant's credit.

(4) It makes the landlord careless as to the character of his tenant, and deters the latter from improving the property.

(5) If it were abolished, no landlord would allow arrears of rent to accrue, and we should be thus rid of a very evil practice.

(2) A landlord only *lends* his property, and there is no question of his losing his principal. If he had no priority, he would have either to demand his rents in advance, or to raise them, in order to cover the additional risk. Other creditors can stop their credit at any moment, or insist on cash; the landlord is bound by contract. In case of bankruptcy, a landlord may not only lose his rent, but find his property depreciated in addition.

(3) Loss of credit is set off by the credit the tenant obtains from the landlord.

(4) Landlords would have to demand security, and would not accept men without capital as tenants—yet these often prove the best tenants.

(5) The allowance of arrears of rent is often of great value to a tenant, especially in bad times.

## DIVORCE

**Pro:** (1) Though marriage was in theory held to be indissoluble, in practice this has never held good, and some device has always been found to circumvent the difficulty, e.g. in the Roman Church the Pope has always had the power to dissolve marriage, provided it has not been consummated, a plea which has been visibly strained in many cases. In the theology of the Western Church the doctrine that marriage is indissoluble stands in the closest association with the "Roman doctrine of intention"—if the intentions of the bride and bridegroom have in any way come short of being a genuine "consent unto matrimony," the marriage is regarded as null and void. A theory of marriage which ignores consent can be defended neither by authority nor reason. In England, before the passing of the Divorce Act, a lengthy process had in each case to be gone through; thus, though Divorce was possible to the rich, the poor if one was unworthy had either to live together, to live apart, or to live in sin with another. Marriage is a purely civil contract,

**Con:** (1) In the marriage ceremony no mention is made of possible Divorce; each party swears solemnly to the other "for better, for worse, till death do us part." Though the State and the Church may have erred, there is no reason for doing so again. The indissolubility of Christian marriage is a plain and simple principle resting on the authority of the whole Western Church.

(2) If adultery be held to dissolve marriage, it would lead to relative promiscuity, since either party might re-marry many times. Adultery ought to be made a crime, rather than release should be given to either party.

(3) Even if Christ allowed Divorce for adultery, He never allowed re-marriage, which was expressly forbidden by the Church at the Council of Arles.

(4) The Council of Trent recapitulated the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church in prohibiting Divorce *a vinculo* for any reason whatever.

(5) The knowledge that they are not allowed to separate and re-marry

and should be so treated in law and in practice.

(2) It has always been held that adultery on the part of the woman dissolves marriage. To make adultery a crime is impossible in the present state of public opinion.

(3) Divorce for adultery was allowed by Christ; there is no difference between the Greek word *ἀπολύω* (I put away) and Divorce. This doctrine was taught by a great many of the Fathers; and the Council at Arles has been reported in two diametrically opposite senses.

(4) The Council of Trent also formulated the doctrine that celibacy and virginity were ethically superior to the married state.

(5) The denial of Divorce has never acted as a deterrent to adultery, and were the law very tyrannical on this point, public opinion would become most lax in regard to breaches of it.

(6) To support judicial separations (i.e. permanent separation without Divorce) through thick and thin is to vindicate religion at the expense of morality.

(7) The publicity and shame of the Divorce Court must always act as a very powerful deterrent.

(8) Any evil effects which reports of Divorce cases might have on the public mind might be met by hearing such cases *in camera*. (See IN CAMERA.)

(9) The home would be broken up far more by the knowledge on the part of the children as to the conduct and estrangement of their parents than by any proceedings in the Divorce Court.

(10) Divorce has not produced the evil results in England that were predicted, although it has been enforced for many years.

(11) Since the Clergy are public officers, and by the Articles the King is declared to be the supreme authority in Church and State, they are not entitled to say on what terms people shall be married in Church. Further, the Church belongs to the parishioners, who are entitled to have a voice in its conduct. It is inconsistent and wrong

will always tend to induce husbands and wives to minimize differences which they might otherwise magnify into occasions for separation. The risk of an agreement between the two, that each should allow full liberty to the other, is not one of which the law can take account, but against which public opinion may be expected to express itself very strongly.

(6) It is not a question of public policy, however clear or strong; we must obey the laws of God rather than regard mere expediency.

(7) The publicity of Divorce Court proceedings is very deleterious to the morals of the people at large.

(8) The trial of cases *in camera* would not prevent the publication of accounts of the trial, fictitious or otherwise, in low publications, with such fullness as the editor, guided only by considerations of profit and the fear of prosecution, might care to insert. Otherwise, the fact of its being held *in camera* would eliminate all fear of exposure. (See IN CAMERA.)

(9) Nothing can be worse for children than the actual legal separation of their parents. The true home cannot exist in the absence of either of the parents, both being *in vivo*.

(10) Divorce has been most disastrous in America, where each concession has only led to further concessions.

(11) The State ought not to oblige the clergy to lend their churches for sacrilegious purposes, such as remarriage of divorced persons, since the Registrar's Office is always open to those who desire to marry in defiance of the Church's laws.

on the part of the clergy to drive such people to the Registrar's office, or leave them to continue in a sinful relation.

## DIVORCE, EASIER

**Pro :** (1) It is injurious both to the State and the individual that two people, between whom there exists a fundamental antagonism in tastes, interests and ideals, should be kept by law in a union which has become distasteful to both of them. The atmosphere of such a household can foster neither good citizens nor fine characters. Permanent separation without Divorce has a direct tendency to encourage immorality. The choice before us is Divorce or compulsory celibacy.

(2) A marriage is annulled because of the physical inability of either party to gratify the other, but no account is taken of mental or spiritual inability. If loneliness is increased by marriage it is no true union.

(3) Under the present law ill-yoked pairs are thrust into the horrible alternative of having children by those for whom they can feel neither respect nor affection, or leaving unsatisfied what is one of the strongest and purest of all human instincts. Can it be wondered at that the birth-rate is declining?

(4) Christ's teaching was assigned rather for a moral than a legal code. A candid bishop once said that no State which tried to put in practice the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount could possibly last a fortnight. (Some) The Mos-saic freedom of divorce was not curtailed by Christ. An ill-yoked couple cannot be said to have been joined by God.

(5) Under the present law the poor are entirely debarred from divorce by reason of the expense. There should not be one law for the rich and another for the poor. County Courts should be given jurisdiction to grant decrees *nisi*.

(6) Married persons whose wives or husbands have been sentenced

**Con :** (1) Where people are unhappily married, although it may be in the interests of morality that they should be allowed to re-marry, and that divorce is better than separation, if there are no children, if they have entered into marriage with the prospect of having children, they have given a pledge not only to each other, but to their children, and should not be allowed to release each other.

(2) There can be no true analogy between failure to satisfy the physical and the mental needs of the partner. The union in the latter case is complete even if it is unsatisfactory.

(3) To relax the laws of Divorce would inevitably tend to weaken respect for the sanctity of the marriage ties. Individuals must occasionally suffer in order that the conception of the family around which civilization has grown up may not be impaired. If men and women felt that unsuccessful speculation in marriage could easily be set right, they would enter more lightly into marriage, there would be more unhappy marriages, and the solemnity of the rite would be forgotten.

(4) Christ's teaching is plain and simple, and any attempt to explain it away fails completely and is mere casuistry. The moral and the legal code should be so far as is possible identical.

(5) Divorce must of necessity be an expensive proceeding. Were it cheapened the number of divorces would be greatly increased, to the detriment of the State. County Court judges are not men of sufficient standing for it to be fit to entrust them with such vastly important powers.

(6) A long term of imprisonment is in no sense a violation of the marriage contract, and should not

to long terms of imprisonment, or who have been judicially separated for a period of (say) five years or upwards, should be enabled to obtain dissolution of their marriages.

(7) Wilful desertion for three years ought to be a cause for divorce.

(8) (Some) Divorce should be granted when either wife or husband is convicted of habitual cruelty that may affect the other physically or mentally, or becomes an habitual inebriate, or develops an ungovernable temper.

(9) Insanity continuing for a period of five years should be a ground for Divorce, as it is for dissolving any ordinary contract. In this case there is in addition the fact that the marriage implies the probable birth of insane children.

therefore be regarded as a breach entitling to dissolution.

(7) Desertion should not be a ground for Divorce, which should only be granted for unfaithfulness.

(8) Any such provisions would merely render marriage a ceremony with no binding force at all.

(9) We must trust to a sense of responsibility and voluntary abstinence to prevent the insane having children. Marriage is indissoluble, and no mere arguments of expediency can enable man to undo what has been done.

## DIVORCE FOR WOMEN: should the "Cruelty" condition be eliminated?

**Pro:** (1) There is no logical reason why any difference should be made between men and women in the matter of Divorce; and, since the sin is equal, the penalties should be the same.

(2) But for the early death of Edward VI the law of England would undoubtedly be the same as the law of Scotland (which allows Divorce on equal terms, with satisfactory results) and all other Protestant countries.

(3) Under the present law the husband is more seriously punished for committing one offence than for two.

(4) Divorce should be made easier. Judicial separations directly encourage immorality. (*See DIVORCE, EASIER.*)

(5) The wife suffers from living a single life as much as the husband. In addition grave physical dangers may result to her even if her husband be not criminally careless.

(6) The Law Courts, fully endorsed by public opinion, twist almost any unkind action of an unfaithful husband into legal

**Con:** (1) Where the physical conditions are so different, equity demands a differential treatment of each sex. Penalties should be preventive, not retributive. If a man break his marriage vows, the consequences are far less harmful or wide-reaching; he is not the child-bearer, and his sin does not affect the status of the home, while the wife's destroys it.

(2) Scotland stands almost alone in her law as to this point.

(3) Comparatively few husbands that commit adultery desire Divorce: the temptations and opportunity are much greater for the husband than for the wife, and it is absurd to suggest that in the greater number of cases it is a punishment for the husband to be compelled to continue to live with his wife after he has once proved unfaithful.

(4) A stricter view of Divorce will have to prevail in the near future, unless society is to become utterly immoral. (*See DIVORCE, EASIER.*)

(5) The consequences of the woman's sin are much more serious



"cruelty," thus neutralizing the original intention of the law. Why, then, retain a law which is so often being stultified in practice?

and are condemned to a greater extent by public opinion.

(6) Although the Courts interpret "cruelty" widely, there must still be some element of "cruelty" before a woman can divorce her husband, and it is therefore impossible for a woman to obtain a Divorce so long as her husband is genuinely fond of her and kind to her—which many unfaithful husbands are.

*See also IN CAMERA; MARRIAGE LAWS.*

### DRINK, FREE TRADE IN

**Pro:** (1) The limited competition now prevailing has greatly improved the state of our public-houses. Under absolutely Free Trade, brewers and others would be induced to spend still greater sums, and thus further improve the condition of the houses.

(2) The licensing system, has created a monopoly.

(3) It gives the police a ready opportunity of levying blackmail on offending publicans.

**Con:** (1) Free Trade in Drink has already been tried, and its abuse led to the present laws.

(2) Licences for trades which are by their nature peculiarly liable to abuse are very necessary. The State must maintain some control.

(3) Blackmailing policemen can readily be detected and punished by a proper system of supervision.

*See also LICENSING ACT; COMPENSATION; GOTHENBURG SYSTEM; LOCAL OPTION; LOCAL VETO.*

### EDUCATION ACTS: Should they be amended?

**Pro:** (1) The Acts, so far from creating "one authority," produce a multiplication of authorities with conflicting powers and duties. Besides, the gains which accrue from the one authority are small compared with the loss of the School Boards. It would have been quite possible to co-ordinate elementary education with secondary without abolishing the School Boards. The Act was aimed really not at the creation of "one authority" but at upholding the authority of the Church in education, and transforming education from rational into denominational.

(2) The County Councils have more work on their hands than they can properly manage. Elementary education is far too big a subject to be properly controlled by the County Councils, and unless the

**Con:** (1) The Acts establish for the first time one authority to control Education of all kinds and all degrees within the area of big towns or the counties, namely the Town or County Councils.

(2) The principle of an *ad hoc* body to control education is absurd. In 1870 no responsible local authority could be found in the rural districts. That is no longer the case, and there remains no reason why the County Councils should not control education through a committee, just as they manage other equally important duties formerly entrusted to *ad hoc* bodies.

(3) In countries with such good educational systems as France, Germany, Austria, or Switzerland, *ad hoc* bodies to control education are unknown.

(4) The Education Acts render it

body which has the spending of the money has to raise at least part itself, and is directly responsible to the ratepayers, great extravagance and waste results. When exercised through Committees of the Council, which need not contain a single member of that Council, the democratic control becomes very remote.

(3) The political institutions in different countries are so entirely different that no comparison is possible. In Switzerland the Referendum is frequently enforced in the more advanced cantons, like Zürich, and democratic control is so real that the separate body is not so necessary. In large parts of Germany and Austria the education is notoriously very backward.

(4) The Acts only make secondary education permissive, thus they leave matters much where they were. Moreover, by imposing a heavy rate for denominational schools, the Acts make the local authorities very loth to embark on fresh expenditure and consequently higher rates.

(5) Even in Parliamentary elections the voting is sometimes very small. Popular indifference may be taken as only a sign that the people generally are content with the management, otherwise they would soon bestir themselves.

(6) The aim of the Acts was to support the denominational schools, not to improve education. The need is for a national system of education, popularly controlled, and to obtain this it would be worth while to buy out the denominational schools.

(7) The Acts give public money to schools controlled by private people, and on whose managing committees the representatives of the ratepayers are in a perpetual minority. The control of a County Council over the elementary schools of a county can only be very nominal—practically the whole power must be in the hands of the managers—the local authority only having to find the money.

(8) The Acts give to the managers the power to appoint and dismiss

possible for the local education authority to devote whatever sums it chooses for education, and to develop its system according to its needs. That anything more than elementary education is not compulsory is an advantage. Any compulsory power would necessarily be limited by what the most backward districts would stand. If each area be free to go ahead at its own pace, the laggards will be brought forward by force of example. Moreover, Parliament gives every inducement to local effort.

(5) The small number of votes given at every School Board election proved what little value the average voter attaches to the *ad hoc* body, or what little popular control it really implies. School Board elections tended to become the play-ground of faddists of all kinds, and were decided on any, other than on educational, grounds.

(6) School Boards covered a comparatively small portion of the country, and there was no immediate prospect that they would absorb the national educational system. It would, moreover, have been an exceedingly expensive policy to do away with the voluntary schools. Was it not better, then, to make them effective and amenable to popular control?

(7) The Acts substituted for the autocracy of the parson, the rule of a management committee, two of whose members are appointed by the local authority, i.e., the Town or County Council. The mere fact of discussion checks arbitrary action, and the two being the representatives of the ratepayers, gives them a status, and lends great weight to their remarks. The Churches are entitled to see that schools founded by them are not used for the propagation of ideas not in consonance with their principles. Outside this subject the Local authority has entire control of the secular instruction. No rate aid is given to denominational education; the money spent on these schools out of the rates is absorbed by secular instruction.

the teachers—a mischievous provision, meaning as it does that the selection of teachers in denominational schools is confined to members of the particular religious denomination. It is always possible for the managers to find a pretext on religious grounds for getting rid of a capable though inconvenient teacher, and it opens out much source of friction.

(9) Under the School Boards the ratepayers could, if they chose, determine that purely Secular instruction should be given in the schools. The control remained in their hands.

(10) It ought to be left to each denomination to teach the children religion, and the representatives of the various denominations might be allowed to come into the school at settled periods to give instruction, or religion should be left to the parents to teach their own children. The State should confine itself to teaching those ethical and moral principles which are agreed on by all as the necessary rules of social life. The common objections to a "Secular" education have long been disproved by the experience of our colonies. (See EDUCATION, SECULAR.)

(11) Mr. Balfour's Government were not justified in using a majority, granted simply to enable them to carry through the war, to effect a revolution in our educational system. And that it was so obtained the speeches of Ministers at the time only too clearly show. The bye-elections showed how strong was the feeling against the Act. The Education Bill in 1906 introduced by the Government with a majority of over 300 in the first year of its office showed how anxious the people were for an amendment of the Act of 1902.

(12) The destruction of the School Boards deprived women of their right to sit as elected representatives in a matter in which they are universally recognized as authorities. Their position as co-opted members of a Board is obviously very different from that of elected

(8) The local authority can object to teachers on educational grounds, but only on these. They have also a veto on the dismissal of teachers. It would be monstrous to put religious instruction into the hands, e.g., of an atheist. The denominationalists give their buildings—the cost of which has been estimated to be at least £700,000 a year—besides keeping the buildings in repair, and for that they get the services of teachers belonging to their denominations for an hour per day. "Managers" is no doubt an unfortunate term, for they—or rather a four-to-two majority of them—manage nothing except the repairs to buildings they have themselves provided free of charge, when repairs are demanded of them by the local authority in possession. Their one function is within strictly defined limits the appointment of teachers, and even that is subject to a veto by the local authority. They can dismiss a teacher only on religious grounds.

(9) The ratepayer or taxpayer required to pay for teaching in which he does not believe is not likely to be consoled by the information that this teaching is not embodied in any formula which the authorities regard as "distinctive of any particular creed." "Undenominational religion" always errs in the opinion of some, either by teaching too much or too little. Admission of ministers to teach religion would destroy the authority of the teacher.

(10) It is universally felt that religious education is necessary, and religious education must be denominational. There are no ethical or moral principles on which all men are agreed—other than the merest platitudes which have no value. Secular education would lead to a deterioration in national character. (See EDUCATION, SECULAR.)

(11) Mr. Balfour was quite entitled to bring in his Act, as our system is a representative one. That the Act of 1902 has raised the educational standard in this country is not disputed by any reasonable

representatives, since it lacks the moral force of having a distinct constituency behind it. A committee is much less public and amenable to public control than a School Board.

(13) It would have been quite possible to have given the voluntary schools such aid from the Exchequer as would have enabled them to hold their own against the Board Schools.

(14) It ought not to be expected that ratepayers' aid should be given on any other terms than those of full control on the part of the ratepayers.

(15) In single school areas it is the duty of the State to provide a school where parents can send their children without fear of having them brought up in a religion which they dislike. The waste in duplicating schools all over the country in single-school areas makes such a course out of the question, so that in the interests of the community it is necessary that the State schools should provide undenominational teaching.

(16) It seems only just that in a society where no decided priority is given to any one religion, and where the number of sects is infinite, individuals should be called upon to pay in part for the religious teaching of their children.

(17) A rational national system of education must be secured; and this is impossible so long as the State provides the funds for the teaching of denominational religion.

opponent. The House of Lords were quite justified in throwing out the Bill of 1906, which worked gross injustice and which had in no real sense been a leading issue at the preceding general election.

(12) Women are eligible to serve on the Education Committees.

(13) In order to enable the Denominational schools to hold their own against the ex-Board Schools, it is necessary that they should be allowed funds from the same source from which the latter draw theirs, viz., the rates.

(14) It is one of the great merits of the Education Act of 1902 that it applied the principle of public control in a spirit of equitable compromise. The local authority assumes responsibility neither for the provision nor for the repairs and general maintenance of the school buildings; but still in return for the incomplete support it gives, the local authority has acquired complete control of all secular instruction. The cry for "complete popular control" is, therefore, an absolutely unreal cry.

(15) In all cases, whether in single-school areas or plural-school areas, honesty demands that schools held in trust for denominational teaching should be used for such teaching only. If the State cannot use the schools on the terms on which it invited their builders to supply them, the least it can do is to respect their rights to the bare property in the buildings.

(16) Subscriptions ought to be unnecessary in a national system of education. The members of the great religious corporations are required to pay both rates and taxes, and should not be called upon to pay in addition to have their children taught in their own religious principles.

(17) It is a very well to plead for a "rational national system," but schools are none the less national because the religious instruction in them is entrusted to managers who are willing to provide buildings free of charge in return for this concession. It seems to plain men more

rational, especially at a time when the financial burdens of the public are growing at so alarming a rate, to accept the assistance of private bodies offered on terms which do not impair the rational character of the schools or the effectiveness of local control.

### Amendments affecting Dogmatic Religious Education

(18) Christ recognized no such hard and fast dogmas as are said to be an essential part of Christianity. The permanent element in Christianity is its morality, which it is quite possible to impart to children without forcing on them doctrines which, even if not erroneous, are not intelligible to them.

(19) As comprising subjects belonging to all religious denominations, it is unfair on the part of the State to expend national moneys on any particular religious section.

(20) Under undogmatic religious teaching, parents can be just as certain as to the nature of instruction provided as under any other system. If more definite teaching be desired, the school instruction can always be supplemented outside the school. It can never be so great a hardship that children should be taught too little, as that they should be taught too much.

(21) Under dogmatic education, a teacher who is not a member of the Anglican Church, or even a believer, would have either to teach what he himself does not, wholly or in part, believe, or else to resign his post. This would be specially hard on teachers whose religious opinions underwent change as their knowledge and experience increased.

(22) The so-called definite teaching forces parents who disapprove of only part of it to withdraw their children from all religious instruction whatsoever, and place them in the same category as infidels and secularists.

(23) Practical agreement as to the ends of secular education has been arrived at; but there is no possibility of unanimity in regard to religious instruction, which should

(18) The Christian Religion includes certain necessary truths, e.g., the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Atonement; unless it include these *minima* of belief, it becomes meaningless, and sinks into a colourless sentimentalism, tending to ultimate scepticism. The doctrine of the Church includes the Prayer-Book, and, without that, Bible teaching may be made to inculcate error.

(19) While the vast majority of her subjects, though differing on minor matters of discipline, hold all essential beliefs in common, the State cannot take on herself the responsibility of ignoring the nature of the religious teaching supplied by her schools.

(20) Parents have a right to know exactly the nature of the religious teaching given to their children, so that they may be certain that doctrines of which they disapprove are not being instilled.

(21) It is necessary for the teacher himself to be a believer to impart sound knowledge of the doctrines he inculcates. Teachers who "change their opinions" on such essential matters lose authority with the young.

(22) The "Conscience Clause" enables parents to withdraw their children from all religious instruction, if desired.

(23) The State provides secular education; why not also religious education?

(24) The education proposals of the Liberals will drive the whole of the Roman Catholic and at least half of the Anglican communion not only into the wilderness of isolation from the national system of schools—but also into some form of resistance

therefore not be provided by the State.

(24) The proposals contained in the Education Bill of 1906 substituted simple Bible teaching for denominational teaching. No injustice can be done in this, for the Bible is common ground amongst all Christian bodies. Whilst maintaining religious instruction in the national schools, it did away with the just cause of discontent which pressed upon the greater part of the nation and gave rise to the movement of Passive Resistance.

(25) The ideal should be that every child should be educated in the religion desired by its parents, but it does not fall within the sphere of the State's duties to provide each special form of denominational teaching. If the State gives the Cowper-Temple teaching, every Christian child is given the basis upon which the parent or the minister of the parent's denomination can build the structure of his own particular faith. It certainly does not conduce to the desired ideal that the only religious teaching available should in many cases be directly opposed to the parent's most cherished dogmas.

(26) The "tests" for teachers should be abolished. Simple Bible teaching can be given by men of any religious persuasion; and the present system of "tests" shuts out many able teachers from the opportunity of obtaining a living. Others it drives to professing a faith which they do not hold. The standard of teaching in elementary schools can never be raised until an equal opportunity is given to all good men of earning a living in this way.

which it would be irony to call passive. For the bodies named will behold the religious instruction dear to the "undenominational" Nonconformists endowed by the State, and the ~~of~~ unite religious instruction which alone can satisfy them excluded from the regular school hours, if not from the buildings, and entrusted—if they should think it worth while to take so much trouble for so little result—to amateurs neither trained nor paid to teach. Birreligion will be substituted for religion.

(25) The ideal which most persons who have considered the question keep ever before them, is that the children of this country shall receive the kind of education in religion which their parents desire. Children are not children of the locality or of the local authority; they are the children of their parents—and it is preposterous to say in a country like ours that parental liberty is to be deliberately interfered with in order that the religious views of the majority in a particular locality may be carried into effect. Of course, the difficulty of so arranging your system that every parent shall be able to obtain in the public elementary school of his district the particular kind of religious teaching for his child which he desires is great, and at a certain point probably insuperable; but there is all the difference in the world between a party who has that as its ideal and a party who has as its ideal precisely the contrary—namely, that it is the business of a central department or a County Council to decide not merely what books of history or books of spelling shall be used by the children in its schools, but what is the kind of morality and the kind of religion which is to be taught by its schoolmasters.

(26) The State, which still relies for the most part on the religious bodies to take the burden of teachers' training from its back, would affirm the two inconsistent principles that teachers should be trained by the religious bodies and



brought up in a religious atmosphere, but that on leaving the training college they should cease to be religious, or at least denominational, human beings. The great majority of teachers are "tested" long before they secure an appointment in a primary school. So long as that condition of things survives, "tests" will remain operative, whatever legislation may affirm to the contrary. And even if the Liberal Party removed all ostensible trace of religious tests from the Statute Book, teachers would continue to test themselves. Is it to be supposed that a teacher anxious for a position in a Church of England, a Roman Catholic, or an undenominational school will not recommend himself for appointment by labelling himself "Anglican" or "Catholic" or "Nonconformist"? Can it be ignored on Monday morning that on the Saturday the teacher has been to the synagogue, or on the Sunday to church, or mass, or chapel?

*See also PASSIVE RESISTANCE.*

### EDUCATION, SECULAR

**Pro :** (1) The secular solution is the only one which will permanently bring peace on the education question in this country.

(2) So long as it was held that the sacrament taken according to the Church of England was a test of civic rectitude, and tests were applied to candidates for public office, the State had a right to interfere in the religious education of the children. With the one claim must go the other.

(3) The State must either admit denominationalism in its schools or reject it: Cowper-Templeism is denominationalism of the first water.

(4) The parents have, of course, a perfect right to teach religious beliefs to their children, but it does not follow that the State has to do so for them. The State is a secular institution.

(5) If religious instruction is not given in schools it will still be given at home: school religion

**Con :** (1) The secular solution would not bring peace; on the contrary it would fan the flames of controversy. The quarrels of English religious bodies are as nothing to the trouble experienced in settling the sort of moral teaching to be given to the French children. Secular education will not mean, in the long run, religious neutrality, but another form of religious conflict.

(2) Though the State now shows a wide tolerance, and avails itself of the public services of men of all creeds, the Anglican Church is still the National Church; and its tenets still form the national faith.

(3) The State still remains Christian: Christianity is the law of the land. The State should therefore teach in its schools at least that Bible history which is common to all the Christian Churches.

(4) Religious teaching is vital to the State, and it is the interest of



is of little value at best; the school is not the only barrier against "a generation that knows not God."

(6) The special Bible lesson becomes a mere secular task in memory; thus the training of the religious faculty suffers doubly; it misses the ethical character of secular subjects on one hand, and it secularizes the expression of the sacred on the other.

(7) Victoria, the secular education colony, has by far the best record in Australia as regards crime.

(8\*) So long as we compromise with denominational teaching, the educational efficiency of our schools must suffer and we must wink at inferior contracted-out schools struggling to keep the lamp of denominational teaching burning. These schools will have to be allowed to charge fees. They will therefore become the haunts of the more petty-minded people who desire their children to remain select.

(9\*) So long as there is religious teaching, it is useless to think of abandoning religious tests. If teachers are to give Scripture lessons, they ought to believe what they are teaching. (See EDUCATION ACTS.)

the State to enforce the parental duty of religious instruction.

(5) It is contrary to experience to suggest that the Church would be able to give systematic religious instruction to more children without the aid of her auxiliary, the State, than she can give with such aid. She would be able to instruct the children of her faithful; but these would be precisely those who would least need her special care.

(6) Morality, in the highest and truest sense, cannot be effectively taught in divorce from religion. The moral lessons which have displaced religious instruction in France are so spiritless and insipid as to have only the slightest value.

(7) All the "Secular" nations have to deplore the increasing criminality of their people; the only countries which can show, with improving social conditions, a decrease in crimes and misdemeanours are countries where the education given to the children comprises religious instruction. New South Wales was originally a penal colony; Victoria was representative of some of the best elements in the English race; the increase of crime in Victoria is outstripping the increase of population; in New South Wales it is the other way round. Whereas crimes of violence committed by juveniles are increasing in most Continental countries—notably in France—they have almost disappeared in England.

## EIGHT HOURS DAY, A LEGAL

**Pro :** (1) The long hours worked by the working-classes to-day are bad for the race—physically, intellectually, and morally—leaving them little or no leisure for self-culture, recreation, or political education, and while sapping their vitality, rob them of all inclination for other than the baser pleasures.

(2) Modern factory labour is so monotonous, that it cannot be prolonged beyond a certain point without injury to the worker and diminution in the value of his work while the increasing complication of machinery demands a more

**Con :** (1) He who works hardest, almost regardless of the stratum of society to which he belongs, is the man who finds most time for self-improvement. Culture must emanate from a desire on the part of the individual to improve himself and his surroundings. Further spare time for most working men would mean merely more opportunity for drinking, etc.

(2) The monotony of work is no greater now than formerly, and is inevitable in certain trades, which consequently offer higher wages. Eight hours cannot be the point

exacting standard of concentration. The industrial worker works harder and at a greater strain than ever before, and hours must be proportionately reduced. There is a point beyond which for every extra hour that the worker puts in his output diminishes accordingly. A reduction in excessive hours does not produce an equivalent diminution in the product of labour. A man whose labour at six hours a day is worth 34s. a week may produce 40s. worth with an eight hours day, but another hour a day will only raise the weekly value of his work by 1s., and if the day is prolonged to ten hours, production in many cases will fall to 40s. worth.

(3) The nominally short hours in some industries are counterbalanced by the fact that "overtime" is habitually worked, as in the dockyards. Moreover, habitual "overtime" inevitably tends to reduce the scale of wages, and ultimately to raise the hours.

(4) Trade Union effort can mean only a strike; and then can benefit only a few of the better trades. Moreover, a voluntary agreement can rarely be enforced, and if broken by one, must be broken by all the parties concerned.

(5) While individual employers have introduced, and will from time to time introduce, the eight hours day, most employers are too much ruled by the force of routine to venture on a change, even when shown to be advantageous.

(6) The Coal Mines Regulation Act has proved beneficial. Mining (a) being a dangerous and hard occupation called for special legislation to ensure the worker the needful rest. (b) Most coal miners before the Act worked more than eight hours a day, more especially the boys. (c) The Eight Hours Day was acquired by the Northumberland and Durham miners as the result of an arrangement of the shifts, by which men work only seven and a half hours on an average, while boys work much longer. Their opposition to a legal Eight

beyond which labour ceases to be productive, or employers would in their own interests insist on an Eight Hours Day for all their employes.

(3) Why should not a man work "overtime," and so obtain extra comforts for his family. "Overtime" enables the industrious man to place himself in a better position than the idle.

(4) Hours of labour and similar matters are better left to private arrangement between employers and employed, as each party knows his own interests better than any Government Department can. Trade Unionism has proved quite sufficiently strong to secure an Eight Hours Day where it has been needed. No extra legislation is necessary to protect employers and employes against unscrupulous rivals, since it is their duty to see that their opponents are bound by a written agreement to observe any compact entered into.

(5) Employers know their own business best, and may be left to choose their own lines of policy. If the Eight Hours Day were advantageous, employers would immediately introduce it.

(6) The Act has led to many difficulties and much discontent; arising out of the application of double shifts both in Wales and the North. Coal mining (a) is no more dangerous or unpleasant than many other industries (e.g. the chemical). (b) An Eight Hours Day already practically existed in the mining world. (c) Less than an Eight Hours Day had already been gained by the Northern miners, through negotiation with the owners; and they not unnaturally objected to any unnecessary legislation in the matter. The boys were not overworked. (d) Coal mining suffers from foreign competition almost as much as any other great industry; and anything that increases the cost of production must have serious effects.

(7) To coerce the minority in the interests of the majority is to infringe those principles of freedom which have allowed the individual to

Hours Day was based on selfish motives, and with a callous disregard of overwork of boys. The vast majority of miners, however, are in favour of a legal restriction of the hours. (d) The Eight Hours Day has not increased the cost of coal.

(7) The law would protect the majority of workers from the selfishness of the minority.

(8) Wise legislation increases the independence of the working-classes, *test* the result of Factory legislation.

(9) There is no freedom of contract between an employer and one of his "hands"; the former has a large market to select from, and can afford to bide his time; the latter is unable to pick and choose on what terms he shall work.

(10) The conditions under which adult labour works have often been interfered with by Acts of Parliament, which are admitted to have acted beneficially, e.g., the Factory Acts, Truck Acts, Mines Regulation Acts, etc.

(11) Trustworthy statistics from employers who have had enormous experience of the relative capacities of the working-classes in all parts of the world, prove that all improvements in their condition, whether by way of better food or greater leisure, have increased their efficiency to an extent more than commensurate with the increased cost.

(12) The hours of labour have not been reduced, nor the wages of labour increased, proportionately to the increased productivity of labour. The result is that the wage-earner has, at the present time, a smaller proportional effective demand for the product of labour than was formerly the case, and that over-production, or rather over-consumption, is the inevitable consequence.

(13) Diminution in hours might tell against small industrial concerns; but this would be an advantage, as large establishments can work under much better sanitary and economic conditions.

(14) An international agreement is not necessary, as nations do not

become the arbiter of his own destiny.

(8) Over-legislation tends to sap the independence of the individual, and to make him look to Acts of Parliament, rather than rely on his own efforts, for his social well-being.

(9) The employer, though nominally free to make his own bargains, is actually as little free with regard either to time or price as his own "hands," owing to the effects of competition and the necessity to obtain orders. A good workman can always make reasonable terms with an employer.

(10) The Truck Acts, etc., were framed mainly with the idea of preventing fraud or removing inducements to crime.

(11) The fact that previous reductions in hours have not been accompanied by lessened or inferior output, does not justify the conclusion that further reductions will turn out the same way; so the argument might be forced to a *reductio ad absurdum*, by urging that the largest production would ensue when men ceased to work altogether.

(12) The position of the labourer is now better than it ever has been. He gets a larger share of the profits. The right way to protect labour is shown by, e.g., the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Wages Boards Act, etc., not by limiting the hours which he may work.

(13) To crush small employers by an Act of Parliament would be a gross act of injustice.

(14) International competition is already rendering the position of our leading industries very precarious, owing to the advantages conferred on our rivals by lower wages and longer hours. An international agreement on such a question is wholly out of the range of practical politics.

(15) Were our capitalists induced gradually to invest their surplus moneys abroad, British industries would necessarily suffer.

(16) The growing feeling of distrust engendered by the tendency to encroach on the rights of capital,

benefit in any way by the longer hours; e.g., the hours worked in England and the United States are short compared with those in Russia, yet the latter do not cut out the former.

(15) Capital (e.g., plant, etc.) cannot be transferred from one country to another; nor can capital be rapidly realized.

(16) Since any legislation on hours would be piecemeal, trade would have time to accommodate itself, and no panics would occur.

(17) An Eight Hours Day, by raising the standard of comfort, would, according to economics, tend to keep population within reasonable bounds. By decreasing the production of each individual, the Eight Hours Day would afford occupation to the large body of Unemployed, and thus tend to raise wages all round.

(18) The Eight Hours Day ought to apply to all Government employes, and all in the employment of railways and other national monopoly undertakings. It is, in the interests of the public, urgently imperative in the case of signalmen and others holding similar positions.

(19) The Eight Hours Day has worked smoothly in those industries in which it is in force in Germany.

(20) "Trade Option," so called, whereby each trade would be allowed to settle its own hours of work, would not be open to the same objections as a universal scheme.

(21) "Local Trade Option," so called, whereby each trade in each locality would be allowed to settle its own hours without interference, would obviate all difficulties.

would cause a want of confidence which would have disastrous results.

(17) Under the present conditions, any improvement in the state of the working-classes would be attended by a rise in the relative numbers of the population, thus making all improvement merely temporary. Especially would this be the case were the present Unemployed to be called into employment. If an Eight Hours Day has the effect of decreasing production, it must either lower wages or increase costs of production, and hence prices, thus stultifying itself by a greatly decreased consumption.

(18) There is no reason why Government or railway employes should be benefited at the expense of the rest of the community, since such benefits must be paid for out of taxation or out of the pockets of the travelling public.

(19) Germany is a protected country and, therefore, the conditions are in no sense comparable.

(20) Under a scheme of "Trade Option" it would be impossible to say what constitutes a trade, or who are its members; moreover, many men belong to more than one trade. This scheme would place most arbitrary power in the hands of the Trade Union officials.

(21) "Local Trade Option" would be open to even more serious objections, since it would expose employers not only to foreign competition, but also to that of employers of other districts.

*See also* FAIR WAGES; TRADE UNIONISM.

## ELECTIONS, SIMULTANEOUS

**Pro:** (1) By leaving the fixture of the polling day to the Returning Officer, often a partisan, the law makes it possible for him to select a day advantageous to one political party; large classes may thus be disfranchised (e.g. costermongers,

**Con:** (1) The poll-day is fixed, as a rule, only after consultation with both candidates or their representatives, and not with regard to party considerations.

(2) If all elections were simultaneous they would occasionally fall on

who cannot leave their barrow on Saturday).

(3) Under Simultaneous Elections, the likelihood of an election falling on a market-day would not be great, and even then would not involve any great disturbance of trade. Moreover, elections occur rarely.

(3) By diminishing the period of uncertainty between two Parliaments, simultaneity of elections would benefit trade enormously.

(4) Under Simultaneous Elections, the great influence which the earlier elections have over the later would be avoided; and electors would not be tempted, as now, to vote with the winning side.

(5) They would, to a large extent abolish plural voting. (*See PLURAL VOTING.*)

(6) Elections are now so quietly carried out, that there is no need for extra police.

(7) It would be easy enough to get Returning Officers, etc., from the district. At present a few firms of solicitors have the whole business in their hands for three or four constituencies, and naturally arrange the elections to suit themselves.

(8) Simultaneous elections would be all in favour of the local candidate as opposed to the carpet-bagger in the county constituencies. Electioneering might begin earlier in them than in the towns.

a market-day. The only day of the week equally convenient to all is Sunday, which is out of the question.

(3) The gains to trade would be scarcely worth consideration.

(4) The influence of earlier over later elections acts beneficially, by tending to give the party in power the greater majority, thus strengthening the Government.

(5) If plural voting ought to be abolished, it should not be by a side wind. (*See PLURAL VOTING.*)

(6) It would be impossible to get the extra police required at elections.

(7) It would be impossible to provide sufficient election officers, etc.

(8) Whilst it would be disastrous to trade in the big towns for an election to be spread over a long period, it is quite impossible for the candidates to cover the ground in some of the county constituencies in less than three or four weeks.

## ENTAIL, ABOLITION OF THE LAW OF

**Pro :** (1) The law of Entail is the mainstay of the aristocracy, and its abolition would be a step in the progress of democracy.

(2) The law protects a class, and class protection is politically bad. Moreover, it protects the prodigal from the results of his own folly.

(3) It would be an unqualified good to the nation if all the profligate landowners were effaced.

(4) The law weakens parental control, since it makes the eldest son independent of his father.

(5) It tempts eldest sons to anti-

**Con :** (1) An ancient aristocracy is a source of strength to every country, and an attempt to undermine its strength should not be sanctioned.

(2) Any alteration in the law of Entail would practically revolutionize the present system of society. The spendthrift would not be less profligate if he had entire control of a property. The law protects a son from the follies of his father, and preserves the great families.

(3) If the middle class were to obtain possession of the land, great

cipate their inheritances; and is a great hardship on younger sons.

(6) Any legislation that would increase the number of land-owners, and would diminish absenteeism, would be desirable.

(7) The chief result of the law is the creation of a few very large estates, a result politically dangerous.

(8) The law places an artificial value on land, since properties which would in the natural course be purchasable disappear from the market.

(9) It leads to the mortgage of estates in order to provide jointures, and thus handicaps the whole property.

(10) Under the law the holder, having only a life interest in a property, is apt to mismanage it; and, as he has only the income and not the capital, is unable to spend as much on the land as is often required.

(11) If it is true that rents are lower on entailed than on unentailed properties, it is because the land has deteriorated by bad farming.

(12) England is the only country in which the law obtains.

harm would be done, as they have no traditions to maintain, and do not realize the responsibilities attaching to land.

(4) From earliest youth an eldest son has the good of the land at heart. Were Entail abolished, the good relations between squire and tenant would disappear, the village would cease to be proud of its "family," and the pride of the nation, "the landed gentry," would become extinct.

(5) The spendthrift eldest son would be a spendthrift in any circumstances, and post-obits are not unknown. The alleged hardship to the younger sons is often more sentimental than real.

(6) All property is unequally divided—land not more so than other. If Entail were abolished, land would change hands, and the only result would be that it would accumulate in the hands of another class; hence absenteeism would not be less prevalent than now.

(7) The existence of large estates is a good; on these alone is a uniform system of agricultural policy pursued. The alleged political danger arising from large estates is nullified by the Ballot and the Corrupt Practices Act.

(8) That there is no "free trade in land" enhances its value as an investment.

(9) Mortgages, raised for suitable purposes, are a convenience, and it is financially sound that an estate should provide itself with the means of its own improvement.

(10) Under the law of Entail an owner cannot treat his capital as if it were income, and estates are better cared for, except in a few exceptional cases, since the interests of the tenant for life and his successor are not antagonistic.

(11) Farmers prefer entailed estates, as the rents are lower and the tenure more secure.

(12) It is impossible to argue from one country to another.

## EXAMINATIONS, COMPETITIVE

Pro: (1) Under the Competitive Examination system, appointments,

Con: (1) Competitive Examinations, at any rate for the Civil Ser-



scholarships, etc., are open to all, and, in the case of the Civil Service, instead of being subject to nepotism, as formerly, are objects of honourable ambition. The examination must be competitive, and not merely qualifying; otherwise the same evils as before would arise.

(2) According to the testimony of many leading physicians, the health of students is not suffering from overwork at school or college.

(3) The effect of Competitive Examinations on young persons is healthy; thousands are encouraged to try their metal against their compeers; and even the dullest are urged to exert themselves.

(4) Competition is the only practical means of testing efficiency and awarding prizes, direct incentives to learning. Competitive examinations are a good working criterion of intellectual attainments. Any one that comes well through the test must have *either* ability *or* industry.

(5) Educationists are the best judges of educational questions. They are not necessarily to be called biassed because they speak with knowledge. It is more important to get the best out of the best than it is to improve the standard of the worst.

(6) Teachers are no more to be trusted to "audit their own accounts" than other people. Examinations by strangers cover a field which may be new, and therefore test the ability of the examinee to meet the unexpected—a valuable quality in after life.

(7) The examiners select the candidates able to make use of their knowledge to the best advantage—*itself* as desirable a qualification for Government service as is actual learning.

vice, ought to be reduced to a minimum, a year of probation being substituted for the final examination. Qualifying Examinations should replace Competitive.

(2) The present system is a great danger to the health, physical and moral, of youth; every year some valuable young lives are lost by overstrain.

(3) It morally depresses both teacher and pupil, by deliberately setting itself to take a sordid view of education. Many brilliant prize-men have lived their mental life before they are five-and-twenty.

(4) Competition does not test either general ability, industry or character. Many men have a peculiar talent for performing above their true form in examinations.

(5) Educationists are biassed judges; the vast majority of others well able to form an independent opinion are in favour of modification of the Competitive System, which cramps school education and leads to over-specialization. The clever are over-taught, while the stupid, who need most teaching, are neglected.

(6) Examination is a useful instrument in the hands of a teacher to test his own work; but it necessarily exerts a fatal influence when made of such importance that teachers simply conform to an external standard. Examinations by strangers test nothing. The teacher is best qualified to know the merits of his pupils, and compulsory publication of papers secures against abuse.

(7) All examinations should aim at discovering general intelligence.

## FAGGING AT SCHOOLS

**Pro :** (1) Fagging instils into the minds of boys when they first go to school habits of discipline and respect for their elders, and thus secures that order should prevail.

(2) It induces in older boys a

**Con :** (1) Fagging impairs the feeling of self-respect in the smaller boys, and encourages in them an admiration for false ideals.

(2) It makes the bigger boys lazy, self-assertive, and tyrannical;



feeling of responsibility, and urges them to set a good example.

(3) Very little bullying results from Fagging. Such as there is, is found among those boys who have not quite reached the position of having their own fags.

(4) A boy having a fag allows no other boy to bully that fag. In any school where there are both big and little boys, some sort of fagging is sure to exist, and it is better that this should be recognized, and the big boys made responsible. The maintenance of discipline is greatly assisted by the system of fagging. The privilege of being allowed to fag other boys is given in return for the duty of assisting the masters to maintain order. The master cannot always be present.

(5) Fagging acts as an inducement to boys to rise as quickly as possible in the school, in order to avoid fagging, and to themselves obtain fags.

(6) Public opinion and the traditions of the school prevent abuse.

and sends them from school with a very exaggerated idea of their own importance.

(3) It encourages bullying among all classes, and though checked by the bigger boys, the spirit remains. There is nothing to check the big boys themselves from being bullies.

(4) It is the duty of the masters to supervise the conduct of the boys out of school-hours; this duty should not be relegated to the elder boys, who have not attained an age at which a true spirit of justice is acquired. Small offences often meet with punishment, whilst serious ones are winked at.

(5) If freedom from the obligation to fag is sufficient to induce lazy boys to work, its hardships must be very considerable.

(6) Public opinion in a school means the private opinion of the head boys, and consequently fluctuates considerably.

## FAIR WAGES CLAUSE IN PUBLIC CONTRACTS

**Pro:** (1) State and municipal authorities ought, both in the labour they directly employ and in all contracts they give out, to stipulate that men in their service be paid the full trade union rate of wages, and that their hours shall not exceed eight *per diem*.

(2) By doing so the State would be acting as a model for employers, and would attract the best men into her service. It would be paradoxical and illogical for the State to pass, for instance, an Eight Hours law, while she herself is a sinner.

**Con:** (1) Public bodies, in the interests of taxpayers, should carry out the work entrusted to them as economically as possible. To pay higher wages, and to work men less hours than the market rate, would be tantamount to being generous at the expense of the public. This would depress industry, and create a favoured class at the expense of the rest.

(2) If the State were to raise wages throughout the district beyond the amount which employers could afford, it would merely result in the employment of fewer hands.

*See also EIGHT HOURS; TRADE UNIONISM.*

## FARM COLONIES FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

**Pro:** (1) The establishment of Farm Colonies would provide healthy employment to many.

(2) Hadleigh Farm, amongst others of the same kind, has been a great success morally, if not financially, and it has helped many to emigrate.

**Con:** (1) The enormous cost of buying land is a great difficulty in the way of establishing Farm Colonies, apart from the total unfitness and incapacity of the Unemployed for agricultural work.

(2) No Farm Colony has ever really been a financial success, and

(3) Our country districts are being depopulated, and land is going out of cultivation; hence Farm Colonies would be a great benefit.

finding work for the Unemployed is too large a scheme for charity.

(8) The depopulation of our country districts will be counteracted by the introduction of small ownerships. (See PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIPS.)

See also UNEMPLOYED; RIGHT TO WORK.

## FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

**Pro:** (1) A careful analysis of the causes which have led to the breakdown of the Parliamentary machine, as exhibited in the frequent failure of governments to pass any important legislation except after frequent and exasperating delay, leads to the conclusion, arrived at by so strong an opponent to change as the late Lord Salisbury, that decentralization or devolution of some of the powers of Parliament to local bodies is the only means by which the present state of affairs can be remedied.

(2) An examination of the records of Bills passed by the House of Commons since the date of the two Unions, will show that the wants of both Scotland and Ireland have been almost habitually subordinated, while England has always received the lion's share of attention.

(3) Ireland has long groaned under the evil of this state of things, and, having seen the reason, has demanded liberty to manage her own affairs. Scotland also, feeling the same evil, but for a long time ignorant of its cause, has now awakened; and most of the Scotch members of the House of Commons are united in favour of a separate legislature for Scotland. Meanwhile the English members also, finding they cannot get all they require, lay the blame on the fact, as they say, though without truth, that Ireland receives too much attention; the truth being, that we are trying to govern an essentially Federal State with the constitution of a United State.

(4) To adopt a Federal System is not to revoke or in any way tamper

**Con:** (1) It is certain that if every Member is to insist on his right to speak on all possible occasions (and this is the state of affairs towards which we seem to be drifting), no matter how little business Parliament has to do, it will never be done.

(2) The statistics relied on to prove the fact that England has monopolized the attention of Parliament are absolutely valueless, since they tell us nothing of the character of the legislation or the time it has taken to pass. One really well-drafted Bill, or even if not well-drafted, a revolutionary Land Bill, might give Ireland more attention than ten or even twenty Bills would give England. Also a debate of a merely local interest is apt to involve a large principle.

(3) Whatever injustice may have been done to Ireland in the past, there can be no reasonable doubt that she has received more than her due share of attention of late years; and as a proof of this, nothing is more remarkable than the growing indifference of the people to all political agitations, despite the attempts of interested agitators here and in America to stir up bad blood. Parliament has always shown itself willing to meet all reasonable demands of the Scotch members; and in late years all reasonable grievances have been removed.

(4) The removal of all local matters would be a deadly blow at the unity of the Kingdom, for not even the warmest advocate of the Federal System can say that foreign, Indian, or even naval

with the main principles of the Union, since the Federal Government would retain its supremacy, and would merely delegate certain of its powers to bodies better able to perform them.

(5) There can be no doubt that the desire for national independence among the Irish is wholly due to England's injustice, past and present. Were England to give due heed to Ireland's wrongs, and endow her with such powers of self-government as were consistent with the honour and safety of the United Kingdom, at the same time clearly showing her that no more would be conceded, there is every reason to conclude that Ireland would soon settle down. An Irish national party with wants unsatisfied is quite as dangerous as a discontented Irish Parliament, and, while far more likely to be discontented, is as well able to treat with a foreign foe, because no foreign Government that would treat with a subordinate Parliament would refuse to treat with a national party. This is, of course, on the supposition that the Imperial Parliament retained in its own hands the power of tax-collecting.

(6) The contention that members are elected, not to look after the interests of their respective countries, but as representatives of the whole, is rendered absurd, considering that by far the greater portion of the legislation passed by the House of Commons is purely local. By a system of mutual accommodation, the minority in one country can impose its will upon the majority in the other, with the help of outside Members who know nothing of the real merits of the case, and whose constituents will not be submitted to the law.

(7) The fact that by this measures are delayed and often have to be dropped, is a crying evil. It embitters the supporters of a measure and shuts their ears to reason (thus militating against compromise), and moreover often (e.g. Welsh Disestablishment) means justice delayed. It also encourages log-rolling, where

affairs would be enough to rouse the enthusiasm of the electors. National interest would therefore concentrate on the local Parliaments. This would be further accentuated by the fact, for example, that while England is Conservative, Scotland is Radical; and Scottish Radicalism would be very angry if it received a check from the Federal Government, and would at once demand separation.

(8) The demand for Home Rule, as far as Ireland is concerned, can be clearly shown to be based on the desire for separation, a desire which has been sedulously maintained by the enemies of England in the United States and elsewhere. This desire would be aided, rather than checked, by the creation of a local Parliament, which, though enough to focus national discontent, would not and could not be allowed to possess sufficient powers to gratify the national pride. An Irish Parliament would be inclined, should England find herself in difficulties, to make capital for Ireland by a secret alliance with her enemies. In any case England, however anxious she may be to atone for the past, must yet be guided by considerations of political expediency and national safety.

(9) Hitherto the members of the Imperial Parliament, not as representing the interests of England, Scotland, and Ireland separately, but as members of an Imperial Parliament, are bound on every occasion to look at the subject discussed as it affects the interests of the whole; and this prevailed till quite recently with the English and Scottish members, for while Scotsmen have from 1832 been for the most part Radicals, they have never been sectional Radicals; and, as a matter of fact, no English Cabinet has been formed on the idea that there was any necessity to represent proportionately the different nationalities.

(10) Whatever the effects of delay may be on the partisans of any measure, it is certain that, so far as the nation at large is concerned,

one member or group of members supporting the Bill vote for another, in order to secure the votes of the supporters of the other Bill for their own. If the House of Lords loses its veto, the last check on log-rolling will be gone.

(8) By getting rid of the merely local business, Parliament would be free to undertake the task which it is elected to perform, viz., to supervise the estimates, and would also bring the influence of the people to bear on the policy of the Government. The evils of popular interference in matters which they do not understand would be much less were the popular control more continuous, and less apt to be diverted by side issues. The chief mischief of popular interference lies with those who allow absurd statements to go uncontradicted, and who, by making foreign policy a mystery, do not hide their hand from other nations but only make it possible for their own nation to be led hither and thither by the demagogue. Supposing, however, that all interest passed away from the Parliamentary election, it is surely much worse that people who have no interest in foreign policy in and for themselves should be practically stimulated in that direction by endowing a body of men, who were elected because of their attitude on home and local questions, with supreme power on foreign and colonial.

the effect is to prevent a large amount of positively mischievous legislation; while the fact that the partisans become embittered is more apt to tell against than in favour of their chances with the great mass of cool, thinking men and women. The House of Lords is probably the best check on log-rolling.

(8) Parliament, if deprived of the greater portion of the work it has been elected to do, would be tempted to interfere unduly with the executive, and with the worst possible results. The evils of Parliamentary control arise largely from the fact that it is impossible for the Foreign Secretary to say all that he knows, or, in other words, adequately to defend his own acts. The outcry against secret diplomacy can be upheld by no one who considers the magnitude of the issues, or how far a Minister is bound to weigh his words, for fear of committing his country to a course of policy which maturer reflection will show to be false.

See also IRELAND: DEVOLUTION; IRELAND: HOME RULE; FEDERATION, BRITISH IMPERIAL; IRISH MEMBERS.

## FEDERATION, BRITISH IMPERIAL

**Pro:** (1) Imperial Federation is a perfectly feasible ideal.

(2) It would bind the Empire together, and make it practically impregnable against any foreign combination. As it is, the Colonies gain enormously from their connection with a world-wide Empire, and are secured against aggression on the part of any other European Power—no unimportant matter, in view of the Colonial activity dis-

**Con:** (1) No workable scheme, especially as regards tariffs, has so far been put forward.

(2) The great danger to the different sections of the Empire arises from their connection with Great Britain, and similarly Great Britain is endangered by her connection with her Colonies, e.g. Canada is quite a possible *casus belli* with the United States. Disputes between Colonies must always be a source of

played by continental rivals. None of our Colonies are now independent of European politics. The closer the connection, the greater the advantages derived from it.

(3) The fact that the American Colonies broke away from us is no reason why our other Colonies should follow their example; the United States had a strong bond of union among themselves, and cause of hatred to us; they left us in order to escape political oppression, which was absent in the other Colonies; further, they had no reason to fear any other European Power. The success of Federation in Australia and South Africa show that this is the line of advance for the future.

(4) Imperial Federation would not take away from the Colonies any powers which they now possess, but would add to them those from which they are at present cut off, a voice in the foreign affairs of the Empire.

(5) Though the Colonies contribute towards imperial defence, it is only a very small proportion of the whole cost, they are thus reduced to the condition of paupers on Britain's bounty; this can hardly be otherwise so long as they have no voice in the Imperial expenditure.

(6) The Colonies should be enabled to state their opinions on questions of peace and war; at present they might find themselves involved in war without their consent having been asked.

(7) Distance is no bar to union in days of steam and electricity; only 100 years ago people prophesied that the American Union was too large and scattered to hold together, yet it has done so in spite even of a gigantic war.

(8) The idea of Federation is very popular in most of the Colonies, and, though it is impossible to forecast what precise form it would take, it is certain that questions of trade relations, India, etc., would be easy to solve. India need not be worse governed by such an assembly than by the House of Com-

weakness to a country, which could really help them but little in time of war, while they necessitate the maintenance of a very large navy; for our Colonies themselves, there can be little object in a policy which keeps them within range of European complications.

(3) History teaches us that the tendency for a colony when it becomes strong is towards separation. "When the child is weaned it leaves its mother. We should have learnt this lesson from the history of our relations with the United States. Where geographical or racial differences are strong, greater separation, not greater union, is the line of advance: e.g., Norway and Sweden and Austria and Hungary.

(4) The Colonies are practically independent already, and have had sufficient experience, from the manner in which the Colonial Office has mismanaged their affairs, not to wish to return to the yoke again under any such specious forms as Imperial Federation.

(5) The Colonies would not pay more for an Imperial Defence from which they derive little benefit, seeing that, whatever it is worth, they now get it for next to nothing.

(6) They would have very little control over their representatives, who again might easily be outvoted by other Colonies on a question of vital interest to them. The total white population in our Colonies amounts to about 13,000,000: any proportional representation would, therefore, leave them in a hopeless minority as regards the British representatives on the Imperial Council, and their consent to war, etc., would be purely formal.

(7) Distances may be comparatively short; but it is not easy to see how countries whose interests are so absolutely divergent could be united. The expense would prevent frequent reference by a representative to his constituents; and while posts work quickly, the world moves more quickly still, nor is it easy to consult by cable. There is no analogy between any known

mons. As the British Empire contains within itself all climates, and grows all kinds of produce, having among other things some of the finest wheat land in the world in Canada, it would be better to encourage trade between the various portions of the Empire by trade tariffs.

(9) Federation would be a great help towards maintaining the peace of the world.

(10) The United States might be asked to join such a Union. Indeed, they would be much more likely to join a strong Federation than a weak one (in such a case the word "Imperial" would be omitted). The old indifference of the States to European politics has now been abandoned.

(11) There is no reason why Imperial Federation should necessitate a written Constitution, as what was necessary could be done by Act of Parliament admitting the Colonies to a share in the Imperial Council.

**Federation and the British Empire so called.**

(8) Federation is not really wanted by the majority of our Colonies, which are more and more inclined to independence. In so far as the connection with the mother country is favoured at all, it is because it enables the Colonies to borrow British money easily and at low rates—a distinctly demoralizing influence, which corrupts Colonial finance. India could not be excluded from any Federation scheme, nor has any scheme been devised by which she could be represented. The question of tariffs is insoluble: the Colonies are not prepared for free trade within the Empire, and England will not adopt a tariff system.

(9) Imperial Federation would constitute a standing menace to the peace of the world.

(10) America does not want to belong to any world-wide Empire, the idea of Empire being foreign to her spirit. American politicians are not in the least concerned in European politics, and do not want to be so.

(11) It would necessitate a written constitution.

*See also IRELAND: DEVOLUTION; FEDERAL GOVERNMENT; IRELAND; HOME RULE; IRISH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.*

## FOOD SUPPLY IN TIME OF WAR: is there a danger of famine?

**Pro:** (1) The fact that England herself is in danger of starvation would hamper the action of our fleet. There would always be the possibility that though our fleet might be forced to yield by reason of the famine at home, the transfer of our ships to neutral powers would not be recognized by the enemy. (See DECLARATION OF LONDON.) Expert opinion shows us that our supply of wheat is dangerously small. This would inevitably inflate prices enormously in time of war.

(2) The danger of the Russian or another Government cornering the world's wheat supply is a very real one. A Government has at its dis-

**Con:** (1) Our rule rests on sea power; if that were gone we should be lost. The risk in war would be a shipping and not a food risk. Ships would be captured because British, not for the food they carried—thus all food would be brought in neutral bottoms, or English ships transferred. High prices would attract wheat, which would be sent despite all risk.

(2) Assuming that the Russian Government had the money to spare, and had sufficient grip of American methods to succeed where Mr. Leiter failed, who would suffer? The price of wheat would rise in England, and corn-dealers everywhere would begin to buy up all



posal greater resources than any individual, and can always command the services of men of ability. Moreover, the fact that one man failed does not prove that success may not be possible. For England the question is too serious to be settled offhand. Were it possible to secure against the running of wheat up to famine prices at the beginning of war, even that would be a great boon.

(3) It would depend upon the powers combined against us, what attitude they took towards neutral shipping. England herself stopped German ships suspected of conveying contraband of war to the Boers. America is not strong enough effectively to take the offensive against a strong alliance of European Powers. (See DECLARATION OF LONDON.)

(4) The size of our merchant marine itself makes it an object worthy of attack. To transfer ships to the flags of foreign Powers would not avail much, and would imply the loss of our maritime supremacy and command of the carrying trade. England does not own three-fifths of the world's carrying capacity in ships unless the ships owned by the Morgan combine are included as English: these would not be available for us in time of war. Even if it is impossible for a complete blockade of England to be effective, panic would send up the prices of wheat to such a point as to be a grave national danger.

(5) It would pay other nations to undergo a temporary loss to get rid of us and our competition. The various hostile Governments could always compensate individuals for the loss of trade with us.

(6) Our mercantile marine is so large and ubiquitous as to be a tempting object of attack, even to an enemy who hardly felt equal to contesting with the English fleet her supremacy. Upon the outbreak of war with any naval power, it is understood, a number of swift cruisers would make raids across the great trade routes to capture unprotected British vessels. In the American Civil War in this way

available corn to send it to England. As long as we have the power to pay for the food we want we shall get it, even though poorer countries have to go on short commons.

(3) The enemy, on declaring food contraband, would be brought into antagonism with all neutral Powers that had an interest in supplying us with food. Would America allow her farmers to be tamely shut out of a good trade for the interests of Germany? (See DECLARATION OF LONDON.)

(4) To stop our food supply the fleets of the enemy must be large enough to scour the seas, or outpace our convoys in all directions, and also numerous enough to blockade all our ports. Britain has three-fifths of the world's carrying capacity in ships; and if only ocean-going ships were included, the proportion would be much larger. It is true that includes also the greater part of ships now owned by the Morgan combine; but in the case of a war with the U.S.A., each country would avail itself of such as it could command; in the event of war with another Power that tonnage would be brought, as far as practicable, under the American flag, and the chief occupation of America would be bringing food to us. Moreover, allowance must further be made for the fact that much of the shipping is in peace occupied in bringing articles of luxury to us, which we should not require in war: hence we should be able to obtain so much the more necessaries.

(5) We get such enormous supplies from foreign countries that they would, if in war with us supplies were landed on their hands, employ neutrals to bring them to us.

(6) If we want cruisers we must build them; but no foreign admiral would spoil his chances of knowing where the enemy's fleet was by sending his cruisers away on the off chance of picking up a few cargo boats. Without cruisers his battleships would have no means of obtaining information as to the enemy's movements. In addition to this, he would have to protect his own



three or four Confederate cruisers caused the American flag to disappear from the world's carrying trade. Lord G. Hamilton, speaking from experience at the Admiralty, assumed that in war all British sailing vessels, and steamers of less than twelve knots speed, the far greatest part of British shipping, must be laid up.

(7) In the event of even a temporary stoppage of food supply, our Government would be faced with fifteen to twenty million starving people. Supplied even with wheat alone, we at least should be less open to starvation and better able to hold out. Every year the proportion of the wheat consumed by the people of this country which is supplied by home production grows considerably less compared with the amount imported from foreign countries and our colonies.

(8) A simple and necessary measure of precaution is the institution of national granaries for wheat, which would at least help to alleviate the suffering when we were cut off from the sources of our food supply.

(9\*) The question must be faced now, when it can be faced coolly and without fluster. Moreover, we are every year becoming more and more dependent on foreign nations for our food supply.

merchant ships, besides stopping ours, as well as fighting our fleet. The sea traffic of the world is not done by the ocean liners, but by busy restless "tramps," able to go anywhere, quite willing to face a dozen hostile fleets to reach a profitable market. Of fast steamers afloat a large majority belong to us, and of the remainder the U.S.A. own the most.

(7) Bread prices have frequently doubled in the last few years without making any great difference. A rise in prices would cause much less distress now than at the time of the high prices prevailing in the late sixties and early seventies. The elasticity of modern commerce is shown by the fact that in five years the proportion of our supply of wheat from Russia has varied about 25 per cent., Argentine 11 per cent., and India 8 per cent., and yet not one man in 1,000 is aware of it, for, if one market is cut off, another rushes in to take its place. It is not only wheat which is wanted. Oats, potatoes, and many other foods, besides cotton and other raw materials, are necessary. It has been calculated that to produce for ourselves the necessary wheat, beef, mutton, butter, cheese, and feeding stuffs for cattle, we should require an additional 23,000,000 acres of land of equal fertility to those now cultivated, or more than the entire area of Ireland.

(8) If we have national granaries for wheat we ought to have the same for cotton, and hundreds of other articles. They would become store-houses of rats; moreover, they would make the Government a speculator in wheat.

*See also* DECLARATION OF LONDON; TARIFF REFORM; SUGAR CONVENTION.

## GAMBLING IN COMMERCE, SUPPRESSION OF

**Pro :** (1) Commercial Gambling disturbs the markets and greatly handicaps legitimate business.

(2) It causes great fluctuations in prices, and gives rise to fraudulent transactions in non-existent goods.

(3) It creates an army of para-

**Con :** (1) Speculation is, in varying degrees, an inevitable concomitant of commerce.

(2) It does not create, but is created by, fluctuations in prices; and helps to repair the balance of good and bad years.

sites on commerce, who absorb a very large part of its legitimate gains.

(4) Trade is in any case liable to such depression, owing to a combination of inevitable causes, that all unnecessary elements of risk are evils.

(3) Middlemen are an essential factor in commerce. They are often the chief capitalists and distributors.

(4) Commercial Speculation cannot be prevented by any legislation except that which is so wide as to be a great hindrance to trade.

### GAMBLING, LEGAL SUPPRESSION OF

**Pro :** (1) Gambling ought to be suppressed by law, since it leads employes to steal money from their employers to pay their losses. The greater the facilities for betting, the more it is indulged in, and though the law cannot perhaps prohibit it altogether, it can keep it within narrow bounds. Trade consists in speculation, but in trade the speculation is merely as to the success or non-success of some use of capital which, if successful, will be productive. Gambling merely effects the transfer of money from one man's pocket to another, and is never productive.

(2) The law cannot refuse to recognize any widespread incentive to crime, and to make it illegal. Many who would not yield to any other inducement to steal, do so in this case; they rely on winning, and regard the theft as merely a temporary loan.

**Con :** (1) The law could be only carried out unequally; e.g., it would be absurd to abolish Tattersall's, an action which would result in the creation of secret betting-places, placing a great temptation in the way of the police to levy blackmail. All trade is gambling in some shape or degree, especially stockbroking and insurance.

(2) It is absurd to attribute much petty larceny to gambling; a man who would be tempted to steal in order to gamble would steal for other purposes. The present attitude of the law is correct, whereby it refuses to enforce gambling contracts, but does not forbid gambling. The State is justified in expressing its disapproval of gambling, but would not be justified in preventing a man using his own money as he liked.

### GAMBLING, MORALITY OF

**Pro :** (1) Speculation is the essence of commerce. There is no difference between gambling on the Stock Exchange and on the turf; and gambling is sure to arise wherever a risky element exists in a business.

(2) The love of sport, of which gambling is an inevitable accompaniment, is an important national trait. The willingness to take risks (which is the essence of gambling) is part of the equipment of every big man.

(3) Where a man can afford to gamble, no harm is done. If he cannot, there is no necessity for him to follow the example of those who can. Similar logic would de-

**Con :** (1) No one can pretend that pure gambling is in any way a bonâ fide element in trade.

(2) Gambling is the ruin of true sport. Risks should only be taken when some gain commensurate with the danger is to be won.

(3) It enables a man to get that to which he is not entitled. A man either can afford to gamble, in which case he is setting a bad example, or he cannot, when he is wasting other people's money. Gambling is a prolific source of crime.

prive every man of every luxury, on the ground that his poorer neighbours might be tempted.

## GAME LAWS, ABOLITION OF

**Pro :** (1) Game cannot be called property in the ordinary sense of the term, since the owner's rights in it are dependent on its territorial movements.

(2) The Game Laws involve great expense, since they protect rights that are difficult to defend.

(3) They create an artificial right, not founded on natural law.

(4) They introduce another uncertain element into farming, since the destruction to crops due to game cannot be estimated; it is unjust to refuse the farmer both protection and the right to protect himself.

(5) Game rights, if granted, should be taxed as ordinary property.

(6) If landlords visit their estates only for the sake of sport, they are of little service to the country, since they forget that property has its duties as well as its privileges.

(7) Game might be protected in the same way as song-birds.

**Con :** (1) Game is property just as much as is any other product of the soil.

(2) A law of trespass would be required if the Game Laws were repealed.

(3) Natural law, apart from actual law and as applied to the relations of human beings, is a meaningless phrase.

(4) A tenant is compensated for any loss caused to him by game.

(5) Game rights are already taxed in the shape of game licences, and of increased rates.

(6) Game and the prospect of sport attract landlords to their country seats, and thus help to maintain the feudal relation between landlord and tenant.

(7) If the Game Laws were repealed all game would be exterminated, and a valuable means of relaxation would disappear.

## GOTHENBURG SYSTEM ? SHOULD ENGLAND ADOPT THE

**Pro :** (1) The proposal that Town or County Councils should take over the retail trade in alcohol would involve no confiscation of vested interests, as full compensation would be given.

(2) By the introduction of the Gothenburg System we do not seek to abolish the use, but only the abuse, of alcoholic drinking.

(3) A great gain would accrue, because the Councils would sell nothing but good liquor. If it is true that the working-classes only care for quantity, it is still the duty of the State to prevent the sale of anything which contributes to the physical degeneracy of the race.

(4) It would reduce intemperance and crime, since the vendors would have no interests in the sale of the drinks.

(5) Public-houses would by it

**Con :** (1) Compensation to the publicans would be a ruinous policy, and is unnecessary. (*See COMPENSATION TO PUBLICANS.*)

(2) It would be wrong for the municipality in any way to be connected with the sale of alcohol.

(3) The municipal authorities would be tempted to make up for the enormous outlay which the policy would involve by selling adulterated liquors. There is no evidence that the working-classes would buy drinks of good quality; they ask for quantity, not quality.

(4) The municipal authorities would have the same temptation to make profits as the publicans have.

(5) If there were not already sufficient eating-houses, others would soon be started. The attempt to institute the continental café in England was a failure. National

become converted into eating-houses. Those publicans who have encouraged the sale of non-alcoholic beverages to their customers have met with a large measure of success: the national demand would gradually accommodate itself to the supply.

(6) It has proved very successful in Sweden.

*See also* DRINK, FREE TRADE IN; LICENSING ACT; COMPENSATION TO PUBLICANS; LOCAL OPTION; LOCAL VETO.

### GREEK, COMPULSORY, AT THE UNIVERSITIES

**Pro :** (1) A knowledge of Greek is indispensable to a well-educated man, and no effort should be spared to spread it. For philological, philosophical and belletristic purposes it is essential, and no comparative study of learned subjects can be prosecuted without it. The inadequate stock of Greek acquired by the average passman is no reason why the subject should be abolished as a necessary study, but only an argument that it should be better taught; but even the little necessary in order to obtain a degree at Oxford has a distinctly humanising influence, and often is responsible for the awakening of an interest in the serious side of life.

(2) The effort to acquire the language is in itself an education far more valuable than a knowledge of facts, which are often soon forgotten; moreover, the study of Greek is not incompatible with that of other subjects. A sound basis in the humanities is the best foundation for a really intelligent appreciation of the problems of natural science.

(3) It is for the Universities to hold up a certain necessary standard of education and culture, not to hunt for popularity. They should aim at imparting the spirit of culture, not a mine of useful facts. There are plenty of technical colleges and similar institutions where "modern" and scientific education is well cared for, and our old Universities at least should be retained for the highest culture.

habits cannot be changed in this way.

(6) Success in Sweden does not guarantee success in England. Moreover, it still has to be shown that the system has been really successful in Sweden.

**Con :** (1) Greek, if of value, will hold its own naturally, and compulsion should be unnecessary; the study of it ought not to be forced on those who have no aptitude or inclination for it. Moreover, the vast majority of students remain absolutely unaffected by the beauty of the language. There are many instances showing that Greek is not indispensable to a highly-educated, cultured man. The amount of Greek compulsory in order to obtain a degree at the Universities is so trifling as to have none of those good results which a more thorough study of the subject brings.

(2) It takes up much time which might be spent more profitably. The dead languages take so much longer to learn than modern that it is impossible to combine them with education in natural science, which is really an indispensable part of the equipment of the man who is to fill a useful place in modern-day life.

(3) Many boys at some public schools never learn Greek. They should not be thereby prevented from going to the Universities. The Universities ought to be as catholic as possible, and bring within the atmosphere of University life more especially those whose education has been least cultural.

## HOME WORK, PROHIBITION OF

**Pro :** (1) It is the home-workers who do not always depend on their earnings for their livelihood, and who take such rates of payment as they can get because they are feeble, inefficient, or have children, invalids or old people to look after, who keep down the rates of payment and render it possible for employers to get their work done without incurring the cost of renting factories and putting down plant and machinery, which would make the piece rates paid yield better earnings, because the output of the workers with efficient appliances and steam-power would be much greater.

(2) So long as employment of workers at home is allowed, the number of wives and daughters, whose husbands and fathers are in employment, who will be willing to add to the family income, and others who are unwilling or unable to undertake regular factory work, will be so great, and so capable of almost indefinite increase, that it will be impossible to drive all the work into properly equipped modern factories, in which the articles can be most economically produced and much better earnings for the workers rendered possible.

(3) Much of the Home Work represents the survival of an obsolete system of production, which is only kept in existence at the expense of a great amount of misery to a large number of people. It would be really a kindness to the workers, as a whole and in the long run, to put an end to it.

**Con :** (1) The right way of dealing with the question of Home Work is an extension of the Wages Boards (*see WAGES BOARDS*). In those trades in which Home Work is an impossible form of competition the institution of the Boards will put an end to it; but there are certain things which can be very well done in the home.

(2) A good deal of Home Work is not suitable for factory work, and a general measure of prohibition would be very hard on many who depend upon the possibility of their extra earnings by Home Work to make both ends meet.

(3) There is a large amount of work done by women in their own homes which is not attended by any of the distressing conditions which it is desired to abolish, and where the earnings are an extremely welcome addition to the family or personal incomes. In rural districts a considerable amount of Home Work is done in spare time under conditions which are decidedly healthy. Its prohibition could only be justified under such grave public necessity as has certainly not yet been proved.

## HOSPITALS, NATIONALIZATION OF

**Pro :** (1) Over most of our public Hospitals there is neither public control nor responsibility to the public; the Governors, though nominally elected by the subscribers, are practically elected by themselves.

(2) As these institutions are supported almost entirely by public subscriptions, and as the public is largely interested in their good management, it is important

**Con :** (1) The Committee on Hospital Management, in a Report issued in 1892, came to the conclusion that the Hospitals were on the whole well and economically managed.

(2) The public, by means of the various Hospital Funds, have very efficient control.

(3) It is inevitable that the Hospitals should be under the control

that full information should be in their hands.

(3) The great Hospitals of the metropolis, and other large cities, are practically managed by the medical staffs. It is dangerous to the community to entrust the whole care and responsibility of the Hospitals to the class which claims that a Hospital should be first a place for medical education, and only secondarily for the relief of suffering.

(4) The municipalization of Hospitals would allow of their better organization, and abolish the inevitable waste of money and energy engendered by the competition between the various Hospitals, and between these and the infirmaries and dispensaries. Co-operation would enable many improvements to be effected in all departments.

(5) The care of the sick is too important an element to be left to the chance vagaries of charity; and the money spent on the appeals to the public makes the present method costly in the extreme.

(6) There seems no reason why under municipalization the doctors should not be as willing as at present to give their services. Supposing this were not so, it would be better to pay them high prices than to allow them to work gratuitously in return for a free hand in experimenting on patients.

(7) Hospitals are now scattered over the metropolis, without due regard to local needs.

(8) The public authorities already very successfully manage a large number of Hospitals.

(9) Even if the Hospitals were more freely used and the cost of maintenance was thus increased, the amount of the national wealth spent on medical needs would not be greater. Ratepayers would be paying for their medical services through the rates instead of direct to their own advisers.

of the medical men, and it is only right that this should be so, as they alone have the necessary knowledge. The Governors, however, have very extensive powers to check abuses, and while certain organs of the Press have only been too ready to take up charges against the medical staff, not one of these charges has been proved. Neither medicine nor surgery has been to any extent advanced by the practice afforded in parish infirmaries, county asylums, or similar institutions; and a free hand must be permitted to doctors if medical science is to progress.

(4) The competition between Hospitals promises their efficiency and prevents stagnation.

(5) Municipalization of the Hospitals would paralyse the charitable motives which at present support them. The expenses of maintenance would soon fall entirely on the rates, and the increased demands on the local exchequer would be enormous.

(6) Under municipalization the professional staff would have to be paid, and it would not be possible to secure the co-operation of the best men, unless at such cost as would entail a still further demand on the public purse.

(7) If the hospitals were nationalized, the State would still utilize the old buildings.

(8) The State is not competent to manage such institutions as Hospitals successfully.

(9) Hospitals being no longer charities, the ratepayers would claim the right to medical treatment, and many who now pay for medical advice and operations would flock to the Hospitals, thus helping to increase the cost of maintenance.

## IMPERIALISM

**Pro :** (1) Although Great Britain, standing alone, cannot for financial reasons much longer preserve her

**Con :** (1) The Colonies will never be able to pay towards the imperial forces a cost proportionate to the



naval supremacy, the United British Empire can certainly maintain it. We must people and develop the strength of our Colonies.

(2) The growth of population in a vigorous nation like England makes it impossible that all native-born Englishmen should find a means of livelihood at home; and the question arises whether it is better to contrive that surplus members of society should have an opportunity, while remaining Englishmen, of retaining their allegiance and receiving protection as such, to form communities which shall be a source of strength to the mother country, rather than that they should lose their identity in a foreign and possibly hostile population, with the chance always of finding even that cut off from them by the legislation of that country.

(3) There can be no question that the policy of expansion in the past has been the means of establishing thriving communities of Englishmen in various parts of the world, and of providing us with coaling stations for the use of our fleet; and the more completely such coaling stations are surrounded by a friendly population of our own countrymen, by whom they can be defended instead of the necessity for their defence drawing large bodies of troops from other places, the more serviceable they are.

(4) No generalization can be more historically inexact than to say that Great Britain has been urged into an imperial career by national vanity or territorial greed. There is hardly an important acquisition from which we have not at some time or other tried to recede. The areas which we have at one time held and afterwards surrendered would make a respectable Empire of themselves. England, so far from being ashamed of her aggressiveness, has every reason to be astounded at her own moderation in the past. Left absolute mistress of the seas, she could have annexed the whole of Africa and assumed a protectorate over China. All her recent annexations have been under-

extra expense incurred by having to defend them. The white population of all our colonies together amounts to only some thirteen millions.

(2) The emigration statistics show that three-quarters of the total number of British emigrants deliberately choose to go outside the Empire. Most of our emigrants go to America; nor is there the smallest possibility that the United States will close their doors against her best class of emigrants, considering that even yet her enormous population is small out of all proportion to the extent of the area of the country and the magnitude of her still undeveloped resources. Moreover England, in her existing Colonies (which, by the way, are just as free as the United States to refuse to receive her immigrants, do so in some instances, and probably would do so to a greater extent did not our emigrants represent the flower of our working classes), possesses an enormous field hardly yet opened out. When we consider the small relative proportion of the existing population of Australasia, Canada, and the South African Colonies, it will be at once evident that not only do we need no more Colonies, but that by setting up claims which we can defend only at enormous cost, both in money and men, we are needlessly increasing our risks. As a matter of fact, the necessity for emigration, while our country districts in England are being depopulated, points to an unsatisfactory condition of affairs at home. It must also be remembered that the population of England has in the last few years shown signs of a diminishing rate of increase. It may well be questioned whether it is worth while to risk the whole Empire with its immense resources for countries in Africa and elsewhere, where a nominal sovereignty over large areas populated by natives is always causing us trouble, and whose value is only very small.

(3) Sea supremacy with its concomitants (e.g. coaling stations) may be necessary for a Power which



taken either to secure existing Colonies or to prevent her trade from being cut off by the closing of existing markets. There is no reason why, when Great Britain has got a clear title to any possession, she should allow herself to be frightened out of asserting the plain rights of her citizens, for fear of wounding the susceptibilities of, say, Russia or Germany. The so-called conciliatory foreign policy, which aims at securing peace by the making of concessions where we get no *quid pro quo*, is bound to fail of its object, for, by exciting the cupidity of our neighbours, it encourages them to raise unfounded claims, which, being compromised, leave them the better off to the extent of that compromise; the whole of our Empire might thus be gradually given away, in exchange for nothing but the contempt of our neighbours. It involves no disparagement of other countries to say that they would probably take, in fact have taken, advantage of the weakness or complaisance of Great Britain. Driven, for various reasons, to establish colonies, they found Great Britain barred their way with already existing colonies or undefined spheres of influence, and it has in many cases only been by trenching on these that they have founded colonies at all.

(5) Trade does not, of course, follow the flag in the sense that we do more trade with our own Colonies than with foreign countries. But the question is, Do we do more trade with countries if we annex them, than we should if we allowed a foreign Government to come and impose duties against English goods? Statistics undoubtedly show that we do. Moreover, can we afford to neglect any opportunities of acquiring open markets, in view of the fact that foreign markets are being more and more closed to us by hostile tariffs? It is more true that the flag follows the trade. Both our Indian and our African dominions had an economic origin. Again, there is nothing ignoble or even selfish in seeking fresh mar-

has large colonial dependencies possessing a scattered population open to attack and possible annexation, and which invites attack by carrying on aggressive warfare elsewhere, but it is obvious that the best defence of our various Colonies against open aggression must lie in contented populations ready to defend their own shores. As to India, the real danger comes from within. As long as our rule is just and in the best sense economical, it is not the interest of any class in India, much less the educated class who flourish under it, to encourage the anarchy which they know full well would follow our withdrawal, or to exchange our rule for Russian, since both of these contingencies they are fully aware would render their position impossible, or at least most difficult. But were this not so, it has been almost universally held by writers like Sir John Seeley and others that we hold India only by the fact that we are practically recognized as the best rulers in the given circumstances, and should any large section of the people be against us we could not hold our own for a moment. Moreover, the prospect of annexing India would probably never attract more than one Power at a time against us, and with a reasonable recognition of our own interests, which are not to come into unreasonable antagonism with other Powers, we ought to be able to avoid such a contingency. If we wish to maintain coaling stations, we must keep soldiers there to defend them, especially in an unhealthy place like Sierra Leone, where white men cannot settle permanently. As regards Egypt, its value for defence purposes must be very small, if, as we are told by experts, the Suez Canal would be useless to us in time of war.

(4) Nothing could have been more fatal to the Imperialist idea than the full realization—were that not wildly impossible—of its dreams. Had England annexed, as Imperialists sometimes wish she had, Africa, China, etc., apart from the

kets for our produce or manufactures. Trade benefits not merely the alien trader but the individual with whom he trades, and it is much better that relations with unknown countries should develop out of barter than that they should spring from violence.

(6) Wherever this Empire has extended its borders, there misery and oppression, anarchy and destitution, superstition and bigotry, have tended to disappear, and have been replaced by peace, justice, prosperity, humanity and freedom of thought, speech and action. There has sprung up an intense passion of loyalty and enthusiasm.

question of the difficulty of finding a sufficient population efficiently to defend our possessions, deprived of all stimulus from the outside by foreign Powers annexing (as Germany and France have done) islands in the neighbourhood of Australia, our Australian Colonies for example would have had no impulse to help us. The Imperialist sentiment in the Colonies must have died before the centrifugal tendencies of local antagonistic interests. Moreover, England's interests would have been antagonistic to those of the whole world, and the strain of maintaining her armaments when the other Powers began to find out their common interest must have been crushing. Also, in spite of being enclosed by French colonies, Sierra Leone—a notable instance—still does a trade which shows no diminution. The question is not so much whether we should insist on our rights, as what are our rights? Are we going to allow adventurers to drag us into war to defend their rights to treaties made in circumstances which we do not know and where we had no voice in the matter? The claim to hold as against other European nations all parts of the earth where our traders had ever been is baseless. The great consideration for England is whether she can really administer a larger territory than she has already, and whether it is really worth while to risk the whole commerce and Empire to get more.

(5) Foreign countries have always been, and show not the smallest sign of ceasing to be, by far our best customers. Hostile tariffs notwithstanding, we send two-thirds of our exports to foreign countries—the fact being that countries which send goods here must receive payment indirectly in English goods. Moreover, whatever trade we do by annexing new countries is met by the increased cost of such a policy. Our defence must rather lie in the skill of our workmen and the honesty of our traders, to surmount any obstacle that tariffs may place in our way. Further, it must

always be remembered that our self-governing colonies for the most part have been as highly protected against us as any foreign country, and that one-third of our total colonial exports are to India, whose fiscal policy we ourselves control. Trade breaks through toll-bars and overflows the most ingeniously constructed national barriers; and it is for the good of humanity, and especially of an industrial nation which has, as we have, three foreign customers to every Imperial one, that it should be so. In whatever country they live, men will buy what is cheapest and best and not simply what comes under a certain flag. Trade is international; the day when we seek to make trade and flag co-extensive will be the last day of British mercantile supremacy.

(6) To suggest that England pursues her aggressive policy for the benefit of the lands she annexes is mere cant.

*See also* INTER-IMPERIAL COMMUNICATION; ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE.

### IN CAMERA PROCEEDINGS

**Pro :** (1) The publication of disgusting details in judicial proceedings is against public policy, as it tends to deprave the young and ignorant. Vice always finds its imitators.

(2) It would materially assist in the detection of crime if the law were to compel certain specified investigations to be held *in camera*, as persons would come forward who would not do so otherwise.

**Con :** (1) Publicity acts as a deterrent, and the respectable Press treats such matters judiciously. Moreover, trial *in camera* would not prevent newspaper reports. (*See* DIVORCE.) Secrecy is apt to engender a feeling that justice has not been done.

(2) Trial *in camera* would be likely to lead to blackmailing.

*See also* DIVORCE; DIVORCE FOR WOMEN; MARRIAGE LAWS, REFORM OF.

### INCOME TAX, A PROGRESSIVE

**Pro :** (1) Taxation should be arranged so as to fall most heavily on those who possess the largest available surplus over their immediate wants. While it is difficult to draw a definite line of demarcation between wants that are immediate and wants that are secondary, it may be said generally that only those wants are of prime importance which are shared by all men alike (a sufficiency

**Con :** (1) Taxation should be so arranged as to take from every member an amount strictly proportionate to the benefit he receives under the protection of the State, and ought therefore to be arranged in a strictly arithmetical proportion to the income of each man. It is not possible to distinguish between immediate and secondary wants, for they differ widely with different

of food, clothing, and shelter); when secured, other wants successively arise, but they are of secondary importance, the gratification of each further want yielding a diminishing amount of satisfaction.

(2) Increased taxation of the richer classes would tend to reduce the number of their servants, and would *pro tanto* be beneficial, since the community in no way benefits by large numbers kept in idleness, or virtual idleness, for mere purposes of ostentation, degrading to both master and man, because creating an entirely false relation between them.

(3) Incomes below a certain amount are exempted from the tax, and no one would now suggest that it should be otherwise.

(4) As bad legislation in the past, as well as in the present, is largely responsible for the inequalities of fortune which are such a bad feature of modern society, the State should do her best to readjust them by taxing the rich in a higher ratio than the poor.

(5) The protection by the State of a rich man's property costs more than its fair proportion, since the owner is in no way able to look after it himself; he should therefore pay at a higher rate for the extra protection he receives.

(6) The poor man contributes a much larger proportion of his income in the shape of indirect taxation than the rich man; and the richer a man is, the greater does this disproportion become.

(7) It is desirable to tax saving rather than consumption, since the over-saving of the rich, accompanied by the under-consumption of the poor, is responsible for the present glut in all markets.

(8) The State is right in drawing a distinction between incomes which are earned and those which are not earned; taxing the latter proportionately more heavily than the former, if only for the reason that between an income of say £1,000 a year from money invested, and £1,000 a year from money earned, there is a difference; the latter,

individuals; what to one man is a necessity of life is to another a pure luxury.

(2) A Progressive Income Tax would be a great hardship to local alms-houses, domestic servants, etc., since the first economies effected would be to cut down entertainments and to dismiss servants.

(3) The fact that incomes below a certain sum are exempt from taxation is due to a desire on the part of the Legislature to relieve the poor, not to penalize wealth.

(4) It is impossible to consider the origin or cause of large incomes in adjusting taxation.

(5) To guard a rich man's property costs proportionately less than a poor man's, since the rich man, though perhaps doing but little personally, has many servants of his own to look after the property.

(6) It is impossible to gauge the actual proportion between the respective contributions of the various classes towards indirect taxation; but it is the duty of the State to remedy each inequality on its own merits, though not by creating a fresh inequality in another direction: two wrongs can never make one right.

(7) By taxing the rich man at too high a rate, the State would offer a premium to thriftlessness. A tax on saving is a tax on capital, which is bad in the case of the nation as well as the individual. (See DEATH DUTIES.)

(8) No distinction can be drawn between earned and unearned incomes. Such a policy greatly discourages thrift. Moreover, the State, by exempting from taxation any moneys paid as insurance premiums, meets the difficulties of the man who has to save out of his income. Those who feel taxation most heavily are the widows and others who cannot earn a living and depend for their livelihood upon a small fixed income from investments. The distinction between earned and unearned incomes is a great hardship to them.

(9) If the State is allowed to throw the whole increased expendi-

depending as it does on the individual, may be cut off at any moment, and consequently a considerable proportion of it has to be set aside every year as a provision for the future, thus reducing its net value; the former represents a net income, which is to all intents and purposes perpetual. Hardships occur under any system.

(9) The imposition of a super-tax upon the very rich is hardly felt, and, given a personal declaration of income, presents no practical difficulty.

(10) A taxpayer ought to know exactly how much he has to pay; it is doubtful whether at present one-tenth of the taxpayers who claim abatement realize the small rate of income-tax they at present pay.

(11) The State has a right to raise money in such manner as is least felt by the majority of the people.

time on the rich, a great check to extravagance on the part of the Government will have been removed.

(10) If a man does not know how much he is paying in taxation, he cannot be labouring under any very great grievance.

(11) The State ought to levy taxation equally and impartially, and not to make a dead set at the rich or those who have saved.

## INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY, THE

The chief points of the Independent Labour Party's programme are: (1) An eight hours day; (2) a workable Unemployed Act; (3) extension of old age pensions; (4) abolition of indirect taxation and the gradual transference of all public burdens to unearned incomes; (5) a series of Land Acts aimed at the ultimate nationalization of land; (6) nationalization of railways and mines; and (7) democratic political reforms.

**Pro:** (1) The economic and social evils of the time call for a bolder and more clearly thought-out programme than is offered by the Liberal Party. The only policy that can suffice is that of the Socialist Party, which, in so far as it is immediately practical, receives the support of the Independent Labour Party, which recognizes, however, that in the main the Socialist programme represents the ideal to be worked for, rather than the immediately practical course.

(2) The Liberal Party theoretically welcomes Labour Members, but in practice has always tabooed them, save when they have forced their way into the House of Commons, when it has often succeeded in "converting" them.

(3) The Liberal Party is too much under the control of its

**Con:** (1) The social evils of our time can only gradually be cured. Violent changes promote only reaction, or, being ill-considered, create fresh evils. The Independent Labour Party is by itself powerless: it can at best only contribute to the success of the Tories. The Socialists offer a programme which, by the violence of the changes it calls for, is opposed to the common-sense of Englishmen.

(2) The Liberal Party has encouraged Labour Members; but it has always left individual constituencies free to choose their own candidates.

(3) The richer members have no control over the party (*teste* the Death Duties, the Budget of 1909, and the party programme generally). The party lost ground through attacking vested interests.

richer members to be really free to act effectually on industrial questions. The National Liberal Federation is admittedly non-representative of the party.

(4) Labour Members are required to check the predominance of lawyers and capitalists in the House of Commons. The Labour Party represent the peculiar interests of the classes who live by manual labour, in a more understanding way than they can be represented by those who have not learnt their needs and realized their problems by personal experience.

(5) A small and united party with a well-planned programme is very much stronger than one which, being divided on principle as the Liberal Party is, is not able to form a clear idea of what they stand for.

(6) The principles of Liberalism are dead; with a few exceptions, the reforms which the historic party fought for have been achieved. As regards the House of Lords, the Liberals can hardly be called consistent assailants, seeing that they add members of their own party to that House on every possible occasion.

(4) All classes must be represented, not the Labour classes alone. As a rule, educated men are the best representatives. Successful revolutions have generally been led by members of the classes, acting in the interests of the masses.

(5) The Democratic Party must be united if it is to succeed at all. Compromise is inevitable in politics and the Liberal, like all other parties, is more or less a compromise, though on matters of minor importance only.

(6) Liberalism is not dead. As long as the powers and constitution of the House of Lords are unreformed it has still much to do; and the House of Commons from 1900-1906 showed how little truth there is in the saying that "the old Toryism is dead."

## INDETERMINATE SENTENCES FOR THE PROFESSIONAL CRIMINAL

**Pro :** (1) There is a small class of prisoners—the professional criminals—consisting of formidable offenders, men who are physically fit, who take to crime by preference, decline work when it is offered them, and refuse the helping hand. They laugh at the present system of imprisonment.

(2) There is no reason why such offenders should be released till they have given proof of such advance in character as would make it safe for the community that they should be at large again.

(3) The possibility of an indeterminate sentence would have a powerful effect as a deterrent, and it would also satisfy the preventive and remedial objects of punishment. Short sentences for prisoners

**Con :** (1) There is no such difference between the habitual and professional criminal as alleged. They are evolved from our civilization, and largely manufactured by our present English prison system.

(2) It will be necessary for the so-called professional criminal to give proof of his reformation in gaol: the result will be the development of an even larger number of religious humbugs in gaol than are there at present. It is impossible in gaol, as it is elsewhere, to establish a psychological inquisition. In order to enable us to judge of men's actions they must be in a position of freedom. Labour unions and labour voters have put a stop to the exercise in price of all the higher branches of industry, and limited



of this class do more harm than good.

(4) The law at present concerns itself only with the crime and the punishment: but the law should consider the criminal and his antecedents and circumstances; and that, moreover, with the object of safeguarding the interests of the community, as well as of dealing fairly with the culprit. At present the judges must choose between discharging a prisoner or sending him to penal discipline of the most rigid character. Penal detention as opposed to penal servitude would only begin after the determination of a term of penal servitude, and the comparative comfort to which a prior period of rigorous discipline would be a condition precedent, would be no inducement to commit crime.

(5) If the abandonment of measures hitherto effective in checking the spread of small-pox should hereafter lead to an epidemic, the small-pox patients of the future may fairly plead that "society" is responsible for their condition. And that plea may entitle them to pity; but will it be accepted as a reason for allowing them to mix with their neighbours?

(6) The system has been tried in some of the States of America, and has worked very well.

prison labour to the lowest and worst paid classes of work, which can have no reformatory effect.

(3) It is not short, but long, sentences that are mischievous. If imprisonment is to be for the purpose of punishment, it should be short and sharp, not long and stupid. After two or three years it utterly fails to have any punitive effect whatever, and only tends to harden and degrade the prisoner and to cause a mental and physical deterioration.

(4) Indeterminate sentences would strike a very serious blow at the liberty of the subject, for men are apparently to be permanently incarcerated, not so much in respect of what they have done as with a view of preventing them doing something which they might very possibly never do in the future. If the penal discipline is not of a rigid character it will be an inducement to the poorest classes to commit crime.

(5) The professional criminal is the creature of his environment, and the society that is responsible for his being what he is has no right to treat him with anything but mercy. Even in acts of self-protection society must be just.

(6) There can be no comparison with the indeterminate sentence in American States, which corresponds to our "star" class in convict prisons, limited to persons of good antecedents or young persons not convicted of anything serious before.

## INDIA: HOME RULE

**Pro:** (1) Were India granted a larger measure of self-government, all ill-judged interference on the part of the House of Commons in Indian local affairs would receive its death-blow.

(2) Englishmen rarely understand the natives; and those who have never been in India are entirely out of sympathy with them, completely failing to realize the Indian attitude of mind; thus injustice is done more through ignorance than ill-will.

**Con:** (1) As long as England holds India, India must be subject to the Home Government and to the will of Parliament. Any measure of Home Rule would be the beginning of the end of English rule in India.

(2) Except as united under the rule of England, there cannot be said to be an Indian nation. The peoples of India are as distinct as ever they were; and it is only by our remaining supreme in India that law and order can be maintained. The English Government is the



(3) The native Princes would rule their fellow-countrymen better than any English officials, and the Indian Government would at once secure the loyalty of both rajahs and people by such liberal action.

(4) The policy of excluding the people of India from the Government is deteriorating the race, for the qualities of statesmanship disappear in disuse. English rule in India monopolizes everything for the Englishman. The country is being steadily impoverished. There has been a large drain of wealth from this country, and the dominant position of the Englishman enables him to amass wealth and make the Indian no match for him in commerce. Famines are growing more frequent and are spread over larger areas, and the death rate of recent years has risen enormously. There are no schools for technical education in India.

protector of the poor cultivator from the oppression of the zemindars (landowners); and if the rajahs were again given free control, it would be the signal for the revival of all the tyrannous pre-Mutiny acts.

(3) The English Government has always availed itself of the services of the rajahs where possible, and it would be absurd to introduce what has never been really demanded.

(4) The complaint about political disability is a misunderstood phase of resentment at the stigma of racial inferiority.

### INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE : Appointment of natives

**Pro :** (1) Indians already hold a few of the higher appointments, judicial and otherwise, in which the very highest qualities are required, and they have not shown themselves deficient in either judgment or administrative ability. English civilians will always hold the majority of these posts, and all that is asked is that opportunities for entering the service, by examinations simultaneously in London and in India, should be extended.

(2) The Bengali Babu is vigorous and intellectual, and the impartiality of those holding judicial posts has never been impugned. Moreover, there is no evidence that they are inferior to or less popular with the natives than the Anglo-Indian.

(3) Bengali Babus have already held very high civil appointments most successfully, even in the Sikh States.

**Con :** (1) The English are the dominant race in India, and it is of the greatest importance that all high administrative posts, especially those which require nerve and impartiality, should remain in their hands.

(2) The Bengali Babu is sensuous and lazy, and strict impartiality is foreign to his nature. Glaring instances of gross injustice on the part of native judges are on record, and the natives themselves have lost all confidence in them, if they ever had any. By the finer Indian races (e.g., the Sikhs) the Bengali Babu is despised, and they consider the appointment of Babus to judicial posts a sign of weakness on the part of England.

(3) There are enough native judges in India already, and their appointments have proved only qualified successes.

### INDIVIDUALISM

**Pro :** (1) Government exists for the sole purpose of defending the lives and the property of citizens;

**Con :** (1) Private enterprise may be preferable to an over-centralized State department, yet the case is

all other duties (e.g. the control of education, of the Post Office, etc.) should be left to the initiative of individuals, since the fewer duties a State undertakes the better she fulfils them. By their very nature, Government offices and State undertakings, even in the simplest matters, are never so well or so economically managed as, and are more governed by routine and red tape than, a private business run for profit.

(2) As Government has to rely on taxation, the more duties it undertakes the more heavily do they weigh on the taxpayer, thus depressing industry while restricting the field of private enterprise. Whereas the capitalist pays for his own mistakes, the Government official throws the costs on taxation.

(3) Where the Government (e.g., in the Post Office) works an institution for profit, it lays an indirect tax on industry, raising money by illegitimate means.

(4) History is one standing protest against the folly of over-legislation, undertaken with the most excellent motives, as most of such legislation was. The best legislative work of this country is that which has freed us from the legislative enactments of previous centuries.

(5) The more we increase the number of indictable offences, the more (to a large extent unnecessary) criminals we create, and the more blackmailing and corruption we render possible. It is easy to pass Factory Acts, but useless unless they are carried out; and it is notorious that, though possibly direct corruption may not exist in the case of inspectors, indirect corruption probably does.

(6) The more Government undertakes, the more it checks that wholesome spirit of self-help which has already carried the English-speaking races to the foremost position in the world. Our Colonial Empire has been entirely won for us by the energy of individuals, despite the blunders of various Governments.

different if, by a judicious system of decentralization, we substitute for the central body a local authority anxious to maintain its credit against that of its neighbours. In this case it is more probable that public control could be wisely exercised over many things which are still left in the hands of private enterprise, especially when by private enterprise we mean public companies managed by salaried officials. In all branches of trade which are of the nature of a monopoly (such as the gas supply in big towns), competition has proved an impossible policy, sometimes defeating itself by the companies coming to mutual understandings.

(2) The return to the individuals in the shape of increased protection against disease, avoidable accidents to the person and danger to property, is out of all proportion to the increase in the rates and taxes, which in their turn have not grown proportionately to the increase in the wealth of the country. Moreover the State makes profits as well as losses and the profits go to the relief of taxation.

(3) The State must raise money in the manner that causes least inconvenience to her subjects.

(4) All the errors made by the State are noted, while those of private enterprise are never heard of.

(5) It would be quite easy to protect society against the corruption of officials. When once a measure has become law, it is for the individual to obey it; society cannot delay useful legislation because a few men may break the law.

(6) Good legislation may be an addition to the freedom of the subject rather than the reverse, and by freeing men from tyranny of other kinds increase their capacity for self-help.

(7) There is no reason why society should not adopt some beneficent measure of artificial selection, instead of following the crude workings of natural selection; natural selection among men, in the absence of government, would not lead to

(7) Government interference tends to preserve the less fit members of society against the workings of natural selection, and thus to lower the general standard of society.

(8) The rule of the majority will not be any less a restriction on individual freedom than that of the king or of the aristocracy.

the survival of the fittest, but to that of the strongest or most cunning.

(8) Democracy is an expression of that larger life through which alone each citizen becomes conscious of himself as an individual, and which secures him his rights as such. At any rate, if oppression exist, "every man is his own oppressor" (J. R. Lowell).

*See also* CO-OPERATION; LAND NATIONALIZATION; PROFIT-SHARING; SOCIALISM.

## INSURANCE OF CHILDREN

**Pro:** (1) If the Insurance of Adults is desirable, why not that of Children?

(2) The danger of child-murder, for the sake of obtaining Insurance moneys, is greatly reduced by the fact that Insurance Companies always make the strictest investigations, which acts as a deterrent to possible murderers.

(3) Statistics do not warrant the conclusion that Child-Insurance often leads to child-murder. In any case, however, statistics might be expected to show a fairly high ratio of deaths among insured children, owing to the fact that it would be chiefly weakly children who would be insured.

(4) Child-Insurance encourages thrift amongst the poor. It enables them to give their children a decent burial, instead of relying on the parish.

**Con:** (1) If the Insurance of Children were as little dangerous as that of adults, nothing could be urged against it.

(2) The inducement to murder for the sake of obtaining Insurance money is much greater in the case of children than of adults, who can protect themselves. It would be small comfort to know that a criminal parent did not receive the Insurance money. Deterrents from crime are of course desirable, but it is better still to eliminate all possibility of inducement. Children can be in practice murdered by mere neglect.

(3) Statistics show that Child-Insurance frequently leads to child-murder.

(4) The burial of deceased children can be as well provided for by a burial club as by Insurance.

## INTER-IMPERIAL COMMUNICATION

**Pro:** (1) Great Britain ought to have some communication with the Colonies which would not be open to the world and which would not be liable to interruption in time of war.

(2) An All-British route would be much the quickest and shortest route by which to despatch soldiers to India, etc., and would be less liable to interruption than a route passing through Suez. By the use of snow-sheds, the Canadian Pacific Railway has been kept almost entirely free from obstruction.

**Con:** (1) So long as England retains command of the sea, she will always be able to maintain some communication with the Colonies not open to interruption in time of war.

(2) The Canadian Pacific Railway is open to great interruption at certain periods of the year, while steamers between England and Canada are in danger from icebergs; and the line of telegraphic communication would always be open to interruption from the United States. It is not the quickest route to India, or, rather, that part of India where

(3) Foreign ships should be excluded from the coasting trade of the different parts of the British Empire; or should be admitted to such trade only on complying with the same rules as to construction, equipment and inspection as British ships, paying the same taxes and paying a fine for the privilege equal to or exceeding any subsidy they may take.

(4) At the present time, owing to German and American competition and other causes, the rates on goods from Hamburg or New York to South Africa, Australia and New Zealand are about half what they are from London or Liverpool, yet the New York goods come via Liverpool. The British Government should subsidize a direct trade between the United Kingdom and East Africa, and between South Africa and Australia by British ships.

(5) Cheap passenger rates would bring in their train a proper system of emigration from Great Britain, and regular visits home and a close personal touch with the mother country.

troops would be required in case of an invasion; and it would always be liable to interruption. The Americans have announced that they will not allow it to be used for this purpose. The Canadian Pacific Railway was a most daring speculation; and, owing to the large tracts of desert through which it passes, was not likely ever to be remunerative.

(3) Any steps to exclude foreign ships from our coasting trade would be likely to cause friction with other nations; whilst it would be impossible to enforce regulations as to construction, etc., in the case of foreign vessels.

(4) Subsidies are not desirable for what is in reality a commercial undertaking, and the fact that rates from Hamburg to South Africa are lower than from Liverpool to South Africa cannot be a permanent element in the situation.

(5) The passenger rates are already sufficiently low for emigrants, and emigration is mainly the result of pressure from within and not of inducements from without.

*See also* IMPERIALISM; ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE.

## INTERNATIONALISM

**Pro:** (1) Every day makes it more apparent that the struggle of the future will be between classes and not between nations.

(2) All the nations of Western Europe have the same industrial problems to face. A great deal may be expected from International Miners' Congresses and others of a cosmopolitan character.

(3) The means of communication, the telegraph, the press, and commerce, all tend to bring nations closer together. Although different States are at different stages of development, the respective classes in each State are working along the same lines.

**Con:** (1) National rivalries become more and more accentuated; they do not diminish in vigour.

(2) Though each country has more or less similar problems to solve, each has its own way of looking at them. At the Miners' Congress the various delegates vote largely by nations.

(3) Internationalism is utterly unpractical, and will probably remain so for many years to come, inasmuch as the States are at very different stages of development, and each nation has a large stock of traditions, which it will take a long time to uproot.

## INVASION, POSSIBILITY OF

**Pro:** (1) Freedom from invasion is not positive but relative; as long as the British Navy maintained

**Con:** (1) The Admiralty have decided that an invasions on even the moderate scale of 70,000 men is

the "two keels to one" standard, the possibility of invasion was remote, but not unthinkable. Unfortunately now we have not got that undoubted superiority in both home and distant waters.

(2) Invasion will come suddenly, without warning, like a thief in the night, and may not even be preceded by a formal declaration of war. The concentration of the invading force may be made quite secretly, and it would not be until the force sailed that news of it would come definitely to hand. Wireless messages even then, might go astray; they have been blocked before, and some method of doing this again might be discovered.

(3) Our naval supremacy is challenged, and we are not now much stronger numerically than a "one power standard." Our fleet ought not to be forced to hang round our shores, for fear of an attempt at invasion being made, but must be freed to follow its own policy. If our ships were temporarily away from the coast or after a naval engagement had been severely handled and crippled, a chance might be afforded the enemy of launching against us troops who had been waiting the opportunity in readiness to sail immediately.

(4) There are 200,000 tons of shipping to be found normally in German ports which could be utilized as transports. In addition to this, there are doubtless many other vessels which would be kept in readiness at the time of international crisis. (Some) These vessels could convey an invading force of 150,000 men. (Others) Fourteen ships of 5,000 tons could bring over a force of 30,000 men properly equipped, and from all the shipping available a uniform fleet could no doubt be collected. In fact, it is probable—and more than probable—that there are in the official pigeon-holes complete lists of the ships and men available, and the allocation of these could be completed by a very small staff in two hours at most.

(5) It is the offensive which in

practically impossible. An invasion differs essentially from a raid. It must be undertaken with all the force that can be made available. It must be conducted by troops composed of men of all arms, supplied from their own base with all warlike and other stores necessary for their operations.

(2) The difficulties of transport would be so great that there could be no possible element of surprise. We should have at least five days clear notice before a German "surprise" fleet could reach our shores, during which time our own fleet could be concentrated by wireless telegraphy. All our ships operating in home waters, whether they are in the North Sea, the Channel, or elsewhere, are in wireless communication with the Admiralty and with the Commander-in-Chief, so that if a fleet of transports were sighted anywhere by a single cruiser, or even by a merchant ship, if she were fitted with wireless, every ship which happened to be in a position to intercept the transports would at once get the order to concentrate as necessary for the purpose, whether she was at sea or in harbour.

(3) If intelligence of a "surprise" invasion (which is as diplomatically unthinkable as it is practically impossible) were to reach us a few hours before the movement began, it would inevitably end in colossal disaster to those who undertook it. Invasion must be the consequence and result of serious naval operations in which we have suffered disaster following known conditions of great political gravity. Before the oversea transport of armies can begin such command of the sea must be gained as will make the operation reasonably safe. No temporary command will suffice, for the communications must be kept open after the troops are landed. We cannot, as reasonable men, base our policy upon an hypothesis that the Fleet will be in some place where it ought not to be. When engaged on operations abroad there could be no surprise, for we should certainly have made all naval preparations

war is the important and decisive factor, and it is mainly to our fleet to which we must look for our success. Many of our ships will be required for defensive purposes on the trade routes and perhaps as convoy for troops, and if the remainder of the fleet is compelled to keep near the coasts for fear of invasion, we should lose all the advantage of offensive warfare. It is absurd to assume positively that we could clear the seas of any hostile vessels which may have been there when war was declared, and do that at the same time as exercising a close blockade—if such a blockade is now possible. A mere patrol along the enemy's coast would be useless, and it is no easy matter to prevent vessels slipping through, as was recently shown by our own manœuvres.

(6) From the time the invading ships have appeared on the horizon, it has been stated by an eminent admiral that a covering force could be landed within an hour, and a transport containing men and guns could be cleared within six or seven hours from a distance of half a mile from the shore. The submarines stationed along the coast require seven fathoms of water to navigate submerged, and their speed is about 10 knots per hour; hence a transport could only be attacked by those within 60 or 70 miles of the point attacked, and this is a very small part of the perimeter of our shores. Again if a harbour could be captured by the invaders, the time of disembarkation would be less, and the transport would also be immune from submarine or torpedo attack. The destroyers if posted singly would be mopped up one by one by the attacking convoy; if cruising in groups some distance apart, they might well be rendered useless. The limit of vision on a dark or misty night is a mile, and time and again a defending fleet has been evaded during manœuvres by the attacking force, which has slipped through unseen.

(7) The length of the line of transports depends entirely on the number employed, and the fourteen

to resist any over-seas operations against us.

(4) Such a force would be a force destitute of artillery, cavalry and land transport. Shipping of that tonnage would only carry 70,000 men, accompanied by 14,000 horses and a full proportion of guns and wheeled transport. The 200,000 tons represents the aggregate tonnage of a heterogeneous collection of shipping, averaging at least 150 vessels of different sizes and speeds. A quite impossible confusion would be the necessary result in disembarkation if such a fleet were used for an invasion. The transport staff must know beforehand precisely the number of ships to be used, with the exact accommodation to be afforded by each.

(5) The really serious danger that this country has to guard against in war is not invasion, but interruption to our trade and destruction of our merchant shipping. The strength of our Fleet is determined by what is necessary to protect our trade, and if it is sufficient for that it will be almost necessarily sufficient to prevent invasion, since the same disposition of the ships to a great extent answers both purposes. The main object aimed at by our Fleet, whether for the defence of commerce or for any other purpose, is to prevent any ship of the enemy from getting to sea far enough to do any mischief before she is brought to action. Any disposition that is even moderately successful in attaining this object will almost certainly be effective in preventing a large fleet of transports, than which nothing is more vulnerable or more difficult to hide, from reaching our shores.

(6) Even supposing that by some extraordinary lucky chance the transports were able to reach our coasts without being detected, their presence must be known when they arrive there; and long before half the troops could be landed the transports would be attacked and sunk by submarines, which are stationed along the coasts for that purpose. Besides the submarines,

ships mentioned previously, would only cover  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from front to rear, and if in two lines, the twelfth of a square mile. This reduces the chance of detection, and as many navigators would willingly undertake the task of steering a ship on a dark night without any lights at all and carry the operation through successfully, the possibility of success is considerably increased.

(8) It is conceivable that we might lose command of the sea for a comparatively short space of time; with an adequate army for home defence, invasion could be staved off until we were in a position to reassume the offensive and regain the supremacy. Starvation would not follow the crippling of the fleet in a day or a week, and it is significant that among those who consider invasion a possibility are many of the leading names in the Navy and Army Lists.

(9) The Germans obviously think the invasion of Great Britain a possibility, *teste* their staff rides in this country and their minutely detailed topographical knowledge.

there would be always a large force of destroyers, either in the ports along the coast or within wireless call, as, in addition to those that may be definitely detailed for coast defence, the system of relief for those acting over sea will ensure a large number being actually in harbour at their respective bases, or within call while going to or returning from their stations. These destroyers, though not specially stationed with that object, will always form, in conjunction with submarines, a very effective second line of defence in the improbable event of such a second line being required.

(7) The unwieldy transport fleet will cover many square miles of waters, and as all the ships will be obliged to carry lights, for mutual safety, they will be visible nearly as far by night as by day. How can they hope to escape discovery? Many of the transports will have speeds of not more than 10 to 12 knots, so that there will be no hope of escape by flight if it is met by a superior force.

(8) We do not need a great standing army for home defence. The Navy is for us the means of defence which Continental countries have to provide in great armies; and, if the Navy were once inadequate to the need, a great standing army could not save us. We could be starved into submission, and "a ring of a million bayonets bristling round the coast" would not affect the situation. So long as the Navy is adequate to its proper work, the idea of an invasion in great force is an idle scare. This country is an island, and this Empire is (in Sir John Seeley's phrase) "a world-wide Venice, with the sea for streets." Command of the sea is the essential foundation of British strategy, alike for Imperial and for home defence.

(9) Invasion may be logically possible, but it is not reasonably probable.



## IRELAND : abolition of the Lord Lieutenant

**Pro :** (1) The Lord Lieutenant directly encourages the idea of Irish nationality as distinct from British.

(2) The abolition of the post would largely contribute towards uniting the two peoples.

(3) The appointment is viewed with great dislike by the majority of Irish, who regard it as a symbol of oppression, and would rejoice to see Dublin Castle and its associations abolished.

**Con :** (1) The Lord Lieutenant maintains English predominance. It is desirable to retain it as a memorial of Irish nationality.

(2) Its abolition would do nothing towards reconciling the mass of the people to English rule, and would be a great loss to trade in Dublin, since the more wealthy part of Irish society would gravitate to London, depriving Dublin of what little life it still possesses.

(3) Many Lord Lieutenants have been Irishmen, and some have been very popular.

## IRELAND : is Devolution in Irish affairs desirable ?

The Devolutionist scheme was programmed and published on September 26, 1904. Its main proposals are to create in Ireland (1) a Financial Council and (2) a Statutory Legislative Body. The Financial Council is to consist of the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, twelve nominated members, and twelve members elected by "the County Council and Borough Council constituencies and Parliamentary constituencies gathered into convenient groups." The votes of the majority are to decide. "Decisions are to be final unless reversed by the House of Commons on a motion adopted by not less than a one-fourth majority of votes." This Bureau is to "prepare and submit the Irish Estimates" and "to examine, supervise, and control every item of expenditure" of the £6,000,000 voted for Irish services, and to propose reductions and to apply the savings from such reductions to the improvement of the administration and development of the country's resources." This would, of course, involve a repeal of the financial sections of the Act of Union.

Lord MacDonnell, in a speech at Dublin on November 2, 1910, enumerated the chief heads of the political creed of the Irish Reform Association in the following words :—

"We postulate, in the first place, the maintenance at Westminster of a Parliament reduced in numbers but with plenary powers of control and supervision over the three kingdoms, and all subordinate legislative assemblies that may be created; secondly, the exercise by that Parliament of the undivided control and management of all matters regarding foreign relations of the Empire, defence, trade and commerce, taxation over the United Kingdom, and all that business and those services which apply to the United Kingdom as a whole; thirdly, the creation in Ireland of a representative Assembly, with legislative and administrative functions, controlling the executive and dealing with all questions which are limited in their scope to Ireland, and which have been specified in the Statute creating the Assembly; fourthly, the establishment of an Irish Treasury, subject to the Irish Assembly's control, provided with funds to be provided in the manner indicated in the Irish Councils Bill, or by the assignment of Irish revenues, if this latter plan be found practicable, provided that, whatever arrangement is adopted, it shall proceed on the basis of the existing expenditure in Ireland as a minimum, and the continuance of the British Treasury responsibility for financing land purchase, and on reasonable financial recognition of the conclusions of the Royal Commission on Financial Relations."

**Pro :** (1) Without endangering the Union in the slightest, devolution would relieve the Imperial Parliament of a considerable amount of detailed work of purely Irish interest, and by giving the Parlia-

**Con :** (1) The scheme is merely a step in the direction of Home Rule. (See IRELAND : HOME RULE.)

(2) The Irish people cannot be treated apart from their national history: they have shown them-

ment at Westminster more time to attend to British and Imperial matters, would thereby increase its efficiency and benefit the other portions of the Empire.

(2) In view of the wide measures of self-government which have been universally conceded throughout the Empire, and which have been retained in the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands, it is a gross absurdity for any apologist for the present inefficient administration of Irish affairs to claim that the proposal of the Irish Reform Association to confer upon Ireland such financial control and such legislative functions as may be compatible with the maintenance of the Union, and with the supremacy of Parliament, would endanger the integrity of the Empire or undermine the Act of Union. The Irish have shown themselves thoroughly competent in local administration.

(3) The development of public opinion in favour of conciliation at home, and of friendly feeling towards Great Britain, is strong and appreciable, and is infinitely stronger than can be judged of by outward appearance.

(4) The scheme of September, 1904, was never intended to do more than serve as a basis for constructive criticism. It was not intended to hold the field to the detriment of others, nor did it commit anybody to its details, and whether or not it is open to the many objections which have been urged against it is wholly immaterial to the point at issue. That point is—Are the present methods of administrative and legislative control in this country all that can be desired? Is any reform necessary or even advisable? And, lastly, can such reform be effected without impairing the maintenance of the Union or the authority of the Imperial Parliament? If the answer to each and all of these questions be in the affirmative, it rests with the Government to formulate the plan by which its solution within the above limits can be attained.

(5\*) The delays and expense

selves incapable of administering their own affairs, and have not as a nation the talent for government which is indispensable if devolution is to be a success. When Ireland has had Home Rule in the past it has always been disastrous to the country; and devolution would only be the prelude to separation.

(3) Devolution has not proved acceptable to the Irish Party, and with their hostility would prove unworkable.

(4) The scheme contains every element to bring the Executive into contempt and conflict. The Council is to be subordinate only to a three-quarter majority of the votes of the Commons, while the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary are to be subordinate to the Council and responsible to Parliament, but not responsible to the Council. It inverts and perverts the deadlock of the Grattan Constitution. Then the Irish Executive was not responsible to the Irish Parliament. Now we are to have an Irish Financial Executive not responsible to the Imperial Parliament, and an Irish Government Executive helpless in the hands of a Bureau.

(5†) The suggested Advisory Council, having no responsibility, would undoubtedly be guilty of rashness and improvidence.

(6†) The people would be taxed without representation, as far as Ireland is concerned. Parliament would part with the power of the purse. The House of Lords would be abolished and the Commons no longer control the appropriation of Supply. A majority of that House would have to be no longer a majority, but a majority and a quarter; and the members would vote under three-quarters of the instalments of Home Rule. The following are some of the "Irish Services" which the conglomerate Council (sure to be dominated by the Nationalist elected members) is to estimate for and control: The Lord Lieutenant's household, the Chief Secretary's salary and those of the staff of his office, the Department of Agriculture and Technical

attendant upon Private Bill procedure so far as Ireland is concerned would be greatly reduced, and consequently commerce and industry benefited. The cost of governing Ireland would also be reduced.

(6\*) The administrative inconvenience in uncontroversial and non-party matters under the present régime is great, e.g. the Imperial Parliament has in time to deal with the transit question—a question of vital importance to an agricultural country. The same is true in graver affairs: administration in Ireland is neither continuous nor consistent, it always yields to pressure and never to argument. The violent agitation of 1902, centring round the de Froyne evictions, was responsible for the Land Act of 1903. It took six years to get that act amended. No Irish Parliament could have delayed amendment nearly so long.

(7\*) The portion of the scheme relating to Private Bill legislation has already been found to work satisfactorily in Scotland.

Education, the Local Government Board, the Board of Works, Land Commission, prisons, national education, Queen's Colleges, law charges and criminal prosecutions, Dublin police, and the Royal Irish Constabulary. The whole administration of Ireland could be upset by this paramount Financial Council.

(7†) The new body could cry halt to the strongest Government; it could without regard to the Executive decline to estimate for the constabulary, could cut down their pay to a fraction; could stop the administration of civil and criminal justice; dictate terms on national education; refuse the votes for the Queen's Colleges and transfer the "savings" to a Roman Catholic college; it could refuse the expenses of protection to the sheriff to execute decrees, and thus, if a "No Instalment Campaign" were organized against the Treasury—now becoming fast the landlord of Ireland—to prevent payment of the Land Purchase advances, it could paralyse the State and imperil the Imperial credit of £150,000,000, and reduce the judgments of the King's Courts to mere expressions of opinion.

*See IRELAND, LORD LIEUTENANCY; IRELAND: HOME RULE; IRELAND, IS SHE OVERTAKEN?; FEDERAL GOVERNMENT; FEDERATION, IMPERIAL; IRISH MEMBERS.*

## IRELAND: HOME RULE

*To keep the main question as clear as possible, the pros and cons as to the continued presence of the Irish members in the Imperial Parliament are given elsewhere.*

Mr. Gladstone's proposals of 1886 proposed to remove the Irish Representative Peers and the members for Ireland from the House of Commons and to set up in Ireland a legislative body consisting of two "orders." This body, or Parliament, was not to make laws relating to the Crown or its devolution, to peace or war, to the defence of the nation, to the army, navy, militia or volunteers, to our relations with foreign States, or to international law, trade, or navigation. It was not to make any law respecting the establishment or endowment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or any law which imposed any disability or conferred any privilege on account of religious belief, or limited the right of a child to attend a school without receiving religious instruction therein, or impaired, without appeal to the Crown, the rights of any corporate body in Ireland. The Parliament was further prohibited from touching the Customs or excise or doing anything to amend or alter the Home Rule Bill itself. The Executive Government of Ireland was to continue in the Crown, and to be carried on by the Lord Lieutenant with the assistance of such officer as the Crown approved; while the Lord Lieutenant, subject to directions from the Crown, was to give or withhold assent to Bills passed by the Irish Parliament. Power was reserved to the Crown to place any Crown lands in Ireland at the disposal of the Irish Government.

The Constabulary were to continue for the present, but power was given to the Irish Parliament to set up local police in their stead. The Dublin Metropolitan Police would remain under the control of the Lord-Lieutenant for two years, after which the Irish Parliament would legislate as to it. The Judicial Committee of the English Privy Council, reinforced by Irish judges, was to be constituted a Court of Appeal similar to the Supreme Court of the United States, with power of deciding whether any Act of the Irish Legislature was *ultra vires*. This power was to be exercised on a requisition from the Lord Lieutenant.

The financial provisions of this Bill were complicated. Mr. Gladstone proposed a separate Consolidated Fund for Ireland, and that Ireland should pay in the future certain definite sums—not more and perhaps less—to the Imperial Exchequer. These sums were £1,466,000 for Ireland's share of the National Debt charges, £1,060,000 for her share in the cost of common defence, and £110,000 as her share of common Civil charges, and £1,000,000 for the Irish police, which, while enlisted in its old form, was regarded as an Imperial Service. These amounts were based upon the thesis that Ireland should pay about one-fifteenth of the Imperial charges.

The Bill of 1893, as it finally passed the House of Commons (56 Viet., Bill 448), differed substantially from that of 1886. The Irish Parliament was to consist not of two orders but of two Houses, a Legislative Council and a Legislative Assembly. The exceptions from the legislative power of this Parliament were as before, but a further exception, "the Lord Lieutenant as representative of the Crown," was added. On the other hand, the new Parliament was authorized to legislate as to the internal commerce of Ireland, lighthouses and sea marks which were under an Irish authority. The restrictions drafted in 1886 for the protection of religious liberty and of corporations were re-inserted, and there was added a restriction forbidding the passing of any law "whereby any person may be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or may be denied the equal protection of laws whereby private property may be taken without just compensation." The prohibition of Irish legislation as to the customs, which was inserted in 1886, was left out in 1893, and a clause was inserted in the later year for securing the rights of non-Irish fishermen in Irish jurisdictional waters. The limitations imposed by this section (3) were also stated not to be intended to restrict the general limitations above stated. The Lord Lieutenant—who in the Bill of 1886 was left to act as executive chief, was to be appointed for six years, thus taking him out of party conflicts, but must act with the assistance of officers approved by the Crown—was now given a Cabinet. This body, a committee of the Irish Privy Council, was to consist of persons appointed by the Crown or by the Irish Act, and the Lord Lieutenant's power of vetoing bills passed by the Government of Ireland was to be exercised only on the advice of this Cabinet. "No subject nevertheless to any instructions from her Majesty in respect of such Bill." When any question of the invalidity of an Irish Act arose, there would be an appeal at the relation of the Lord Lieutenant or a Secretary of State to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, constituted in a manner somewhat different to that of 1886, and the Committee were to recommend the Crown to direct the Lord Lieutenant to reject or approve any such measure. The right of appeal to the House of Lords from the Irish Law Courts was to be abolished, and an appeal to the Privy Council substituted. An important section (18) reserved to the Lord Lieutenant the sole right of introducing, or approving the introduction of, money Bills. This was the more important because, as above stated, the Lord Lieutenant was to hold office for six years. The Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police were to be gradually reduced, their places being taken by a local police. Most important of all, eighty Irish members, returned for constituencies rather larger than those now existing, were still to sit in the Imperial Parliament. The University of Dublin was to be disfranchised.

The revenue of Ireland was divided into general revenue and special revenue, the general revenue consisting of taxes levied by Parliament and the special revenue of taxes imposed by the Irish Legislature. One-third part of the "general" revenue and certain other funds were to be paid annually into the Imperial Exchequer, the rest of her revenue, general and special, going into her own Consolidated Fund and being of avail for her own purposes.

The demands of the Home Rule party as formulated by Mr. John Redmond, its leader, in November, 1910, were: "Legislative and executive control of

all purely Irish affairs, subject to the supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament."

"In other words," he said, "we want an Irish Parliament, with an executive responsible to it, created by Act of the Imperial Parliament, and charged with the management of purely Irish affairs (land, education, local government, transit, labour, industries, taxation for local purposes, law and justice, police, etc.), leaving to the Imperial Parliament, in which Ireland would probably continue to be represented, but in smaller numbers, the management, just as at present, of all Imperial affairs—army, navy, foreign relations, customs, imperial taxation, matters pertaining to the Crown, the Colonies, and all those other questions which are Imperial and not local in their nature, the Imperial Parliament also retaining an over-riding supreme authority over the new Irish legislature, such as it possesses to-day over the various legislatures in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and other portions of the Empire."

**Pro :** (1) The failure of the policy of the Union is proved, since after more than 100 years of trial the Union remains merely a "paper union." By keeping up a Lord Lieutenant, etc., in Dublin, and by legislating separately for Ireland, England has many times acknowledged the Irish nationality.

(2) The industrial prosperity of North-east Ulster rests upon the presence of a population with whom the industrial habit is an inheritance, and among whom industrial capital has constantly found employment, thanks to the protection of the linen trade in the eighteenth century. The Union with Scotland was based on consent, that with Ireland was not.

(3) Even Grattan's Parliament, little as it represented the Irish nation, passed many good measures, and Ireland was prosperous; whilst the Act of Union was passed only by barefaced jobbery.

(4) Ireland has been estranged from England by many years of misgovernment and injustice; her commerce was ruined in the interests of English manufacturers, her religion was trampled on, and she was treated as a conquered nation. In Grattan's Parliament no Roman Catholic was allowed to sit.

(5) No matter how long national self-government may be denied, and no matter what remedial measures may be passed at Westminster, Irishmen will never be content until their national aspirations are satisfied. There is something more than material prosperity needed, and that is national contentment.

**Con :** (1) The policy of the Act of Union has been a success. There are two Irish nations; one of which (and that the more prosperous, if not the more numerous) detests the idea of separation from England, and dreads the rule of the numerical majority, their enemy as well as England's.

(2) North-east Ulster has prospered under the Union; so has Scotland. The real reason why Ireland has not progressed so much as England and Scotland is because too much attention has been paid to politics and too little to business. Ireland if left to herself must go steadily back; if she is to advance she must have the benefit of the credit and resources of the United Kingdom at her back.

(3) Grattan's Parliament was a complete failure, and meant a period of great industrial depression and much misery for the Irish people.

(4) England has long since atoned for any injustice she may have done to Ireland. Bad as was England's treatment of Ireland, it never equalled the severity of the Coercion Bills passed by an Irish Parliament.

(5) The Home Rule movement was in origin an agrarian agitation: that agitation has been satisfactorily answered by the Land Act of 1903, and the excuse for the demand has gone. Such discontent as may still obtain in Ireland is due to one of two causes: the refusal of the Nationalist party to assist the working of the Land Act, or the weak administration of the present executive. It has always been an important article of the Unionist

National aspirations will never be satisfied until Home Rule is granted. The Unionists fear Home Rule because it means the loss of many nice little billets, e.g., the control of the forty-three Boards in Dublin by means of which Ireland is governed. Roman Catholics have hitherto been most unfairly excluded from these posts, and it is common justice that their turn should come.

(6) The British Parliament has always ignored the Irish Question, till forced by the discontent of the Irish people to take some sort of action, when its invariable idea has been coercion on the one hand, or bribery in the shape of Land Acts, etc., on the other. Thus, all the so-called remedial legislation having been forced out of the English Parliament, Ireland has come to see that the only way to get her wrongs righted is to show England that her weakness is Ireland's opportunity.

(7) Home Rule would not involve separation, since all foreign affairs and imperial matters would be beyond Irish jurisdiction. It would, on the contrary, be a first step towards Imperial Federation, one of the cardinal principles of which is the management by each member of the Federation of its own private affairs. The *Sinn Féin* movement is not widespread, and if Home Rule were granted would soon disappear altogether. As the Irish Parliament would have no control over the navy or the army it is obvious that there would be no more danger if war arose than there is at present. The fact that Ireland will be receiving an annual grant of from two to three millions from the Imperial Exchequer will be quite a sufficient guarantee against separation.

(8) It is improbable that Ulstermen will carry out their threats of forcible resistance to the Home Rule Bill, any more than they carried out the same threats in respect of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. Forty-seven to forty-eight per cent. of Ulstermen are

creed that the Parliament of England and an Anglo-Irish administration can meet every reasonable grievance of Ireland. In the past England has subscribed to Irish industries and Irish development with no ungenerous hand. The Statute-book teems with Acts which have meant subsidies from the Imperial Exchequer. The great undertakings of the Board of Works, of the Congested Districts Board, of the Agricultural and Industries Department—most of all the enormous advance of money and credit for the purpose of making the Irish farmer a landowner—all these have been given or assisted by the use of Imperial credit. Since the battle was waged before a full measure of local government has been conferred upon Ireland, which involved a grant of £750,000 a year, which equals a grant of \$25,000,000 of money. The Land Purchase Acts involve the pledging of Imperial credit to the extent of some £200,000,000, and vast sums have been expended for the development of industries and dealing with congested districts; and lastly there is the provision of the millions necessary for providing pensions for the aged poor. The Unionist Party have always regarded these needs of Ireland not as local but as Imperial needs, and have acted accordingly. What would happen if Home Rule came, with an Irish Parliament having power of taxation? Would Ireland be able still to borrow money in London for her needs, when her Government was in the hands of men deeply disloyal to England and able to repudiate by statute both debts and control? If you look upon Ireland as a separate entity, such an expenditure would be impossible, and with such progress and under such circumstances it is suggested that Ireland should accept a policy which would put her adrift in her local development from the common purse created by the great wealth of the other parts of the United Kingdom. Any such policy is to abandon the substance and pursue the shadow. The proposed



Home Rulers, and the other 52-53 per cent. realize that they have been favoured unfairly, and are afraid of equal treatment for all.

(9) When once Home Rule is granted, the national party, having no longer a common aim, would probably break up into sections, and so far from the Catholics persecuting the Protestants, the Protestants would be the stronger party. The antagonism would, however, not be between Protestants and Catholics (the return of votes in Belfast has shown that Protestants have already voted for Catholics)—the struggle would be changed from the religious to the industrial sphere. Home Rule, so far from meaning Rome Rule, would perhaps bring about an anti-clerical movement: ecclesiastical tyranny and political freedom are incompatible, as evidenced by the whole course of history. The Nationalist movement was not initially a Catholic movement; it was led by a Protestant (Butt, Shaw and Parnell were all Protestants), and arose in spite of the opposition of many Irish Bishops; the priests, in fact, have derived their power only by identifying themselves with national aspirations. Whilst Ireland has always been spiritually subservient to Rome, she has always refused to accept her politics from the Pope, e.g., election of Irish bishops, Parnell's memorial, and the Plan of Campaign, in each of which cases the decree of the Vatican was set at defiance. Parnell's fall was due to Gladstone, who feared the Nonconformist conscience in England.

(10) The same power that created the Parliament could always recall it; and this consideration alone would moderate any tendency to excess.

(11) Where possible, people should be allowed to rule themselves. A capacity for self-government is acquired only in the exercise of responsibility. It is not fair to charge against the movement crimes committed while the people were smarting under injustice. Responsibility is an essential condition of

new Parliament could only raise revenue by further taxes; and what is to be taxed? Ireland possesses no millionaires, and now no great landowners, and the people must understand that the new taxation would fall mainly on the land now held by the people, or perhaps on the few flourishing industries that exist in the North of Ireland.

(6) Even if Parliament has neglected Ireland in the past, and yielded only when forced to do so, all this is changed, and the Imperial Parliament has of late years spent the greater part of many sessions in the consideration of measures relating to Ireland. The fact that Parliament has made mistakes in governing Ireland is no argument for abandoning the work. Where law and order are habitually set at defiance, they must be maintained at all costs, whether by "coercion," so-called, or otherwise. The fact that England has weakly yielded to Irish disaffection before, is a strong reason why she should not do so again.

(7) There is no reason to think that anything short of absolute separation would satisfy the moving spirits in the Home Rule movement—the Irish Americans. In the event of war, an Irish Parliament would afford a centre for Irish discontent. Any Home Rule which recognizes the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament will not be the end: the *Sinn Féin* movement, which has adopted the whole creed of avowed separation, shows the spirit of the country. With the whole machinery of administration in Nationalist hands, Ireland might easily be organized for separation in a naval crisis of the future swifter than Imperial power could intervene. As naval competition intensifies throughout the world, the Home Rule principle must become not less, but infinitely more, dangerous to the safety of Great Britain. Once you establish a Parliament in Dublin it will be impossible without the use of arms to enforce the Imperial veto. Home Rule is worse than separation, because, while it



moral development. One of the causes which has always operated against Irish initiative and development is the fact that they have to look outside their own country for everything. They cannot make a railway bridge in Cork or sink a main sewer in Dublin without coming to Westminster for sanction, and at heavy cost. Apart from sentiment altogether, the very fact of looking to a Home Government for aid and reform would have a wholesome effect on the people in a material sense. It is no longer true that the Irish people have lacked experience in local self-government. In the management of local affairs for the last ten years, the County Councils have shown remarkable aptitude for the work of administration, while the manner in which leading men, irrespective of creed, are co-operating in schemes for the promotion of industrial and educational enterprises, is a good augury of what would happen if national as well as local affairs were entrusted to the Irish people.

(12) The Federal principle has succeeded in many states; in cases where a legitimate demand of the kind has been refused (e.g., Holland's refusal of Home Rule to Belgium) it has resulted in absolute separation. England has already granted the same or fuller power to her Colonies, and has always sympathized with such demands (e.g., the Poles).

(13) Home Rule was granted to the Transvaal with the most excellent results: Ireland deserves at least equal treatment. When Home Rule was granted to Canada, there was intense disloyalty prevalent; the gift has made it loyal. When Bismarck united the various States in Germany, he successfully granted Home Rule to each State, although in some Catholics outnumbered Protestants and in others Protestants outnumbered Catholics.

(14) The union in South Africa leaves the local governments existing, vested with very considerable powers for local affairs. The union with Ireland abolished the local

would mean practically the same thing, it would leave Great Britain with the responsibility for and the ignominy caused by all the steps taken by the Irish Administration.

(8) Ulstermen strongly object to the proposal, would regard it as a cruel desertion on the part of England, and would, if necessary, as they have clearly shown, in the last resort resist it in arms. Property and trade in Ireland are opposed to it.

(9) The Nationalist party would not be contented with any Home Rule short of separation; and so long as they are not contented, they will not break up into other parties. Except in Belfast, there are no materials for a struggle between Capital and Labour. Judging by the fate of Mr. Parnell, no anti-clerical movement would be very successful in Ireland. The Nationalist movement has always been supported by a powerful party among the Irish priests.

(10) The gift could be recalled only by force of arms, and at the cost of great bloodshed. It would mean the reconquest of Ireland.

(11) The Irish have never shown any capacity for self-government, nor have their leaders been men who could be trusted with any sort of responsibility.

(12) Where Home Rule is connected with any broad difference of economic interest or racial ideals, the system has always worked towards separation until stopped by war.

(13) Federal Government has scarcely succeeded in Austria, despite the direct influence of the Crown; in Norway and Sweden it has resulted in a disruption, and it caused a gigantic war in the United States. As regards England, the present system ensures local questions being discussed apart from local jealousies. No argument can be drawn from a comparison between Ireland and the Transvaal: the latter is on the outskirts of the Empire, Ireland close to its heart; Ireland has been in close contact with British influences for centuries:

legislature; and in so far as it enacted separate beneficial treatment for Ireland, the Act of Union has been a dead letter. The Union with Ireland was not like the Union in the Colonies, voluntary. Both the Scotch and the Welsh are strongly in favour of Home Rule for themselves.

(15) The English Colonies largely sympathize with Irish Home Rule, and have supported the movement by resolutions of their Parliaments, and donations; is it wise to ignore the opinions of a great part of the English race, especially when we wish to bind them more closely to us?

(16) Ireland can be conciliated only by Home Rule; mere local government without Home Rule would only give greater opportunity for the expression of the demand without the power of satisfying it.

(17\*) Ireland is now a source of weakness to England, as the number of troops required draws heavily on our resources in time of peace, to say nothing of war; whereas a happy and contented Ireland would be a great source of strength. Ireland is to-day "England's broken arm," producing no more soldiers than are required to maintain England's army of occupation. The loss of military strength in this way is a permanent fact: another fact is the continued hostility generated in America by the Irish emigrants and their descendants.

(18\*) The granting of Home Rule would greatly strengthen the bond between this country and the U.S.A., by satisfying the Irish Americans, and would remove the chief obstacle to a great union of the English-speaking nations of the world.

the Transvaal's existence only dates back to 1833. Again, the grievances of the Uitlanders led to the Boer War, and if Home Rule were granted the Ulstermen would be in a similar position to the Uitlanders. We can learn from the history of the United Council of County Councils the consideration which would be given to the minority. The policy of Kruger, not Botha, is the policy which we must expect.

(14) It would materially weaken the Union, besides making it illogical not to give the same power to England, to Scotland, and to Wales. Imperial Federation is essentially different from Irish Home Rule, since it is meant to bind tighter the bond that has got loose, rather than loosen one that is still tight. The whole development of the Empire is towards federation in blocks: the separate position of Newfoundland is an embarrassment to Canada; it would be an unwise and reactionary proceeding to dissolve the union of Great Britain and Ireland when South Africa and Australia have completed their union of local government. In the Colonies the movement has been from disintegration to integration; the grant of Home Rule to Ireland would be a step in the opposite direction.

(15) The Colonies would strongly object to any expression of opinion by the English Parliament on purely Colonial matters; and it is not easy to see why England should pay attention to their opinion on what is, after all, a matter of Home politics. The opinion of Colonial politicians is based upon a desire to pander to the Irish vote.

(16) It might be wise to give Ireland the control over its own local government, but that, whilst it would remedy all the material grievances which Ireland may legitimately have, is very different from any such measure of Home Rule as would have approved itself to Parnell.

*See also* IRELAND: DEVOLUTION; FEDERAL GOVERNMENT; FEDERATION  
BRITISH IMPERIAL; IRISH MEMBERS.

# IRELAND : IS SHE OVER-TAXED ?

**Pro :** (1) The Royal Commission appointed to examine into the financial relations decided, with but one dissentient voice, that Ireland paid more than her fair share of taxation. Among the men who agreed to this were eminent financiers.

(2) The estimates as to the relative wealth and taxable capacity were made by very able financiers after long inquiry.

(3) Ireland, whose wealth amounts to about one-twentieth of that of England, pays taxes to the extent of about one-sixteenth. The relative taxable capacity of Ireland has also fallen year by year since 1894. The levy of one-sixteenth is probably harsher and heavier on her now than that of one-twelfth in 1894.

(4) Irish services means for the maintenance of 60,000 or 70,000 Government employes, many of whom are in universal Irish opinion quite unnecessary.

(5) The amount spent on Irish government is excessive, and might well be reduced to the great advantage of Ireland. In proportion to her poverty, she spends more on her government than any other small country, except Portugal. Ireland, moreover, has nothing to do with this expenditure, which is ordered by the Imperial Parliament. Ireland gets no equivalent as a purely agricultural country from the Imperial expenditure on the army, navy, etc., the benefit of which goes to England. It is no answer to a charge that money has been obtained by theft to say that it has been spent in profligacy. Nationalists, whilst not denying that Ireland is a charge on the Exchequer, maintain that the Treasury figures are an exaggeration.

(6) Irishmen of all parties, including prominent Unionists, agree that the Government ought to remedy this injustice.

(7) Ireland was recognized as a separate taxable entity in the Act of Union, and the proportion of her contribution fixed. So high was it

**Con :** (1) All the Commissioners were Irishmen or Home Rulers, excepting one, and he found that no grievance had been established. In matters of detail the malcontents differed greatly.

(2) The estimates as to the relative wealth of the two countries, largely based as they are on observations of untrained officials, are too untrustworthy for an estimate as to the taxable capacities of the two countries to be based on them.

(3) The proportion of the whole revenue of the United Kingdom contributed by Ireland has been declining year by year since the Commission. In 1893-4 it was one-twelfth, in 1907-8 it was little more than one-sixteenth.

(4) England hands back to Ireland each year a sum greater than the strictly proportionate share to be expended on Irish services.

(5) An independent Ireland would, judging from the other small countries in Europe, probably spend as much. In any case she must pay for defence, and, as a separate nation, this would be much more costly than her contribution to the British fleet. An independent Ireland would, moreover, always have a powerful neighbour to guard against. Since the Old Age Pension Act England annually spends a far greater amount on Ireland than she gets from her. According to the Treasury returns for the year ending March, 1910, the cost of Ireland to the Treasury was £10,712,500, whilst she only paid in taxation £8,355,000, showing a loss to the Treasury of over 2½ millions.

(6) The Government cannot sacrifice England and Scotland even to please a temporary coalition of all the Irish parties.

(7) If Ireland be recognized as a separate taxable entity, why not Scotland, Wales, or the agricultural counties of England? Man for man, the people of Ireland pay no more than the English. The aim of the Union was gradually to unite the two systems.

that Ireland under the greatest pressure could never pay it.

(8) Indirect taxation, when imposed on an article which one section of the people more than another uses, is always unjust. Whatever may be said of whiskey, there is no reason why the tax on tea, coffee, tobacco, etc., should not be reduced for Ireland.

(9) The taxes which Ireland does not pay and England does, are insignificant.

(10) England might make a grant to Ireland for a certain number of years to enable her to develop her resources, and to atone for past injustice and over-taxation.

(8) The tax on whiskey, which forms a special part of the grievance, was imposed on moral rather than financial grounds. To exempt tea, etc., from taxation in Ireland would involve setting up an Irish custom-house, with all its hindrances to trade. The Irish suffer no more than poor people in England suffer from indirect taxation, which always falls somewhat more heavily on the poor, and forms a set-off to the income tax, from which they are exempt. People can always reduce their contribution to indirect taxation by drinking less whiskey, etc.

(9) Englishmen and Scotchmen pay taxes which the Irish do not pay; these in England alone amount to about £4,000,000 yearly.

(10) Grants do more harm than good.

### IRISH MEMBERS: their exclusion from Imperial Parliament in the event of the grant of Home Rule

**Pro:** (1) The supremacy of the Imperial Parliament could be amply maintained by restriction, placed on the Irish Parliament.

(2) The sum paid by the Irish to the Imperial Exchequer would be fixed, and could be altered only by the consent of the Irish.

(3) Their presence would be unfair to the other countries of the Union, especially England; and, if they were allowed to be occasionally present, it would destroy Parliamentary government; the Government might one day be in a minority and the next in a majority, accordingly as the Irish members were present or not. In any case, they are grossly over-represented now.

(4) The Irish do not want representation in the Imperial Parliament. Many other integral parts of the Empire, e.g., all the Colonies, are excluded from the Imperial Parliament.

**Con:** (1) The exclusion of Irish members would be tantamount to Separation.

(2) Exclusion would introduce taxation without representation.

(3) Irish members might be allowed to vote in the Imperial Parliament only when matters concerning Ireland were under discussion. Their numbers might be reduced under a general scheme of redistribution.

(4) Ireland is an integral part of the Empire; exclusion from Parliament would reduce her to the position of merely a tributary province. By narrowing her interests it would retard the political and moral development of the country.

*See also* IRELAND, DEVOLUTION; FEDERAL GOVERNMENT; IRELAND, HOME RULE; FEDERATION, IMPERIAL.

# JEWISH STATE, IS THE CREATION OF A, DESIRABLE AND PRACTICABLE ?

There are two schemes in existence for the establishment of an autonomous Jewish state. The one, known as Zionism, for sentimental as well as other, reasons, advocates the re-settlement of the Jews in the Holy Land, the other, Territorialism, is in favour of an autonomous Jewish settlement anywhere, but in consequence of the special difficulties a projected Jewish settlement in the Holy Land would encounter, discourages any attempt in that direction. The following discussion deals solely with the proposed creation of a Jewish State, and will ignore arguments that relate only to the Holy Land.

**Pro:** (1) The experience of twenty centuries has shown that it is impossible for the Jews as a whole to find toleration in Christian lands. Throughout that period the overwhelming majority of Jewry have suffered the extremes of persecution at the hands of Christian governments and Christian peoples. Even where Jews have found kindly treatment it has proved but temporary. In Spain the Jews were once on an absolute equality with the other populations, and contributed greatly to the welfare and advantage of the State, only, however, to be expelled ultimately after every cruelty had been perpetrated upon them. Jews helped to build up the German Empire, to be repaid with official and social ostracism. In France they joyfully joined their neighbours in the defence of their common country, only at a later day to be told that Jew and traitor were synonymous terms. In Russia Jews have out of all proportion served in the forces and died to retain soil for the Empire, on which as civilians they are not allowed to live. In Roumania the Jews have been settled longer than the present governing caste; yet they are treated as helots. The Jew has long enough been the unwelcome guest of Christendom; it is time he found a home for himself.

(2) The accusation that it is desired to set up a "Ghetto State" is answered by the express declaration that in the proposed colony Church and State would not be united, and that the object is, if under British protection, to produce a model British Colony. That Colony would be no more a Ghetto State for Jews than New Zealand is

**Con:** (1) The Mission of Israel is to spread among the nations, the Jews by their existence to teach the truth. By secluding themselves in a Ghetto of immense extent, they would be deserting the truth that has been reposed in them.

(2) The bulk of the Jews, those in the East of Europe and non-European countries, need Europeanizing. The plan of an autonomous Jewish state, far from satisfying this need, would stereotype the present peculiarities.

(3) The financial difficulties of the plan are insurmountable. The immense sums needed to emigrate and settle any appreciable number of Russian Jews are not available. Moreover, even if a suitable territory were found and granted, it must prove quite inadequate to support even one year's natural increase of the Russo-Jewish population. Even if a Jewish State were created—and this has already been done in the past—former precedents will probably be followed and the Jews refuse to settle in it. The great attraction for the Jews is the English-speaking cities. It is not likely that Uganda will draw away Jews bound for New York.

(4) In all countries a more tolerant treatment of the Jews is being adopted. In many States there is no Anti-Jewish discrimination whatever, and even in Russia the Anti-Jewish legislation is being modified. There is every reason to believe that as freedom permeates the Russian system—and this has already commenced—the lot of the Russian Jew will improve. The problem of Russian Jewry must be solved in Russia. No human scheme can provide for the emigra-

a Ghetto State for Christians. Its laws, indeed, would be based on those of the mother country, only modified as every British Colony modifies them to suit its special circumstances.

(3) Russian Jews ask political aid from Britain, not financial. This, if it benefits Jews politically, will not fail to benefit the British Empire both financially and politically. England's magnanimous project has indeed brought a breath of fresh hope to the Jewries of the world. To build up this land of liberty under her protection, Russian Jews pledged themselves "to make sacrifices of a greatness of which only a people is capable that has been for two thousand years a martyr people." And while a rich Russian Jew assures us that 10,000 well-to-do families will be ready to colonize with a joint capital of £10,000,000, 100 typical middle-class Jews write that, possessing a joint capital of 50,000 roubles and their good right hands, they are awaiting the signal to set out for the Jewish land. Bands of university students have declared their readiness, if ever a scientific commission is sent out to explore a savage territory, to leave their studies and their prospects in life and become porters, mere beasts of burden, for the scientific experts. In this burning faith and enthusiasm, not in any £50 per head (as calculated from schemes of a different kind) lies the true hope of the project.

(4) "Colonies are not founded in a day." In the Twentieth Century progress need not follow ancient standards, and an organized scheme with the impetus of persecution and outrage and the stimulus of the desire for freedom differs altogether from the individual efforts of discoverers and adventurers. It is recognized that the Colony can be of little immediate help, but that is no reason for perpetuating the old planless policy of never making a beginning. While doing the utmost to help the present victims, while likewise urging on to the utmost the

tion of six million Russian Jews. It is doubtful whether a suitable territory is obtainable. All such are already occupied. But even if a suitable locality were found it would, in order to fulfil the objects of the promoters, have to be of sufficient dimensions for an ultimate population of at least four million souls, that is to say, it would probably have to be at least as large as Ireland, which has a population of four and a half millions only, and is yet in many districts greatly congested. Suppose a sympathetic Government were to provide such a territory, when and how could it be made available? Colonies are not founded in a day. Colonization is a slow and gradual operation. Nature has to be wooed and won. The virgin soil has to be cleared and tilled. Homesteads have to be built and farms stocked. All this work of preparation must be done by young and hardy pioneers, and years would elapse before the land would be ready to receive a large number of emigrants with their wives and families. So there is nothing in the contemplated colonization which would satisfy the present urgent need for a place of refuge for the victims of persecution.



emancipation of those millions of Jews who will long remain in Russia, now is the time to also build up a new home for those who desire to leave the country, and a place of refuge against the evil day that is almost certain to come again. For is there any serious observer of history who imagines that even with the gaining of complete civic rights the Russian Jews will have lived through their last peril?

### JOURNALISM : are signed articles desirable ?

**Pro :** (1) With Signed Articles responsibility is transferred from the journal itself to the contributors personally, and the public is thus enabled to estimate at their true value the opinions expressed, discounting, if necessary, any known idiosyncrasies of writers. The abuse of the editorial "we" is notorious, a fictitious value being attached to it by the general public.

(2) In the case of literary, scientific, and technical journals, articles, to be of any value, should be signed, otherwise "log-rolling" is encouraged.

(3) Anonymity deprives the writer of all responsibility, and occasionally leads to political dishonesty, the same journalist contributing leading articles to papers of opposite political views.

(4) Leading articles, if of joint composition, ought to be signed by all those co-operating. Such articles are unusual, and even if an exception were made the principle would not be affected.

**Con :** (1) Anonymity in journalism has the great advantage that the journal itself is responsible for its contents, enabling its editor to maintain a uniform standpoint and policy, expressing the views of a great party (political or religious), instead of merely bringing together a mass of heterogeneous opinions. For such a purpose an editorial "we" is infinitely stronger than any number of isolated "I's," even though indicating unanimity of views.

(2) Anonymity enables critics fearlessly to express their real convictions, and excludes mutual recrimination, such as disgraces the French press.

(3) The writers are almost always known; and this is a safeguard against irresponsibility.

(4) Leading articles, when the production of several writers, could not be signed.

### JURY SYSTEM, THE

**Pro :** (1) A man has a right to be tried by his peers, and twelve ordinary men are more likely to arrive at the truth than a single Judge, however capable.

(2) In all cases where the credit of either party is at issue the Jury is the best tribunal.

(3) The system has always worked well; and time-honoured institutions, more especially where originally established to prevent flagrant abuses, should not be abolished without sufficient reason.

**Con :** (1) An innocent man would in nine cases out of ten, prefer to be tried by a Judge, rather than by a Jury, as he would be appealing to a higher order of intelligence. Juries are at the mercy of the Judges, and hence useless.

(2) Whatever the merits of the Jury system in criminal proceedings, there are none when applied to civil proceedings.

(3) The system does not work well. As a rule, one Jurymen dominates the other eleven, and



(4) The Jury system at times when legislation lags behind the social conscience enables Juries by refusing to find a verdict in accordance with unjust laws to force the hands of the legislature. In this way abolition of the death penalty for stealing was obtained.

(5) A Jury is often better able to form a correct opinion as to facts connected with the daily life of the working classes than a Judge, who has only an academic knowledge. The Jury are likely to be freer from prejudices, and less hasty.

(6) The process of explaining a case fully to a Jury often elucidates facts which would otherwise be overlooked. Knowledge is rarely complete until it has been clearly expressed.

(7) The Judge is often so occupied in taking notes that he has not the time to watch the demeanour of witnesses in the box. He is apt to attach too much importance to documentary as opposed to oral evidence. A Jury is free to watch the witnesses the whole time.

himself becomes practically the Judge; and many guilty persons have escaped punishment through fear of responsibility in the Jury, or through the presence of one obstinate Jurymen.

(4) The object of criminal proceedings is not to ventilate grievances or to express views as to legal reforms, but to administer the law as it stands.

(5) A Jury is apt to be prejudiced, especially if the person tried is known to any of its members. They are liable to be influenced by public opinion, which is often wrong.

(6) Appeals to the emotions very frequently influence a Jury, while a Judge simply weighs facts and administers law.

(7) The Jury does not attach nearly enough importance to documentary evidence. Only a man with a large experience of witnesses is competent to decide which are and which are not credible. Often the biggest liar makes the most effective witness with a Jury, whilst the nervous but truthful man is not believed.

## LAND NATIONALIZATION

**Pro:** (1) Land differs totally from all other kinds of property, inasmuch as its value is not the result of human labour, which alone constitutes a valid claim to property of any sort.

(2) Land is limited in quantity, yet essential to all.

(3) Land more and more passes into the hands of the few (a tendency which Free Trade in land has enhanced rather than reduced), and the few thus acquire undue power.

(4) It is not just that first occupation should convey a right to levy a perpetual tax on the labour of others.

(5) Herbert Spencer truly said that the land monopolists got the land originally by force or fraud, and that their titles were written with the sword for pen and blood for ink.

(6) The present system deprives the agricultural labourer of all

**Con:** (1) Land derives almost its whole value from the fact that it has been brought into cultivation. Where, for instance, can any distinction be drawn between the land and the crops that grow on it?

(2) All commodities are limited in quantity; and land is no more necessary to the individual than food or clothing. There is plenty of unoccupied country still left in the world.

(3) The estates of large land-owners are, as a rule, far more generously managed than those of small owners. Being more open to criticism, large owners are also less harsh to their tenants.

(4) A man should pay for the privilege of entering into the results of others' labours: whether in a lump sum or in the form of rent is a small matter. If a man be not allowed this right of property in land which he himself or his unce-

interest in the land which he cultivates, making him thriftless and careless.

(7) The possession of land places enormous power in the hands of those holding it, to influence the opinions, political and religious, of all who are in any way dependent on them.

(8) Country districts are becoming more and more depopulated by the absence of all chance of employment, the small amount of cottage accommodation, and the difficulty even of obtaining a plot of land as an allotment.

(9) Rural depopulation leads to overcrowding in towns, and competition for work on the part of town wage-earners, resulting in reduced wages.

(10) By overcrowding in cities, the vitality of the race is being sapped; the unhealthy lives of the people leading them more and more to rely on alcohol, tobacco, and other stimulants. The present system has intensified the seriousness of town problems by withholding land, assisted by unfair exemption from adequate taxation.

(11) Private ownership has created a class of men who, by levying a tax on the labour of others, are able to live without themselves producing work of any kind. While many members of this class perform useful work as magistrates, etc., yet their remuneration is entirely disproportionate to its value.

(12) One of the results of State ownership of land would be that the art treasures, etc., now held by the lords of the soil would tend to pass into the hands of the nation, and the enjoyment of them would be open to all.

(13) Since the land acquires the greater part of its financial value from (a) the growth of population,

(b) the industry of man, this unearned increment should not pass into the hands of the few. Private ownership has increased the burden of rates by appropriating land values that are the natural revenue of a community. (See LAND VALUES.)

tors have cultivated or paid for, no one is likely hereafter to invest his labour or money in land.

(5) Land was not the only property originally obtained by force or fraud: the money and labour put into land since its original acquisition makes it quite immaterial how it was originally acquired.

(6) Merely to transfer land from the hands of landlords to the State would not increase the labourers' interest in the land: private landlords give their tenants a larger share in the profits derived from the land than do corporate landlords.

(7) Few landlords now attempt to control the opinions of their tenants; whereas if the land were concentrated in the hands of the State it would afford numerous opportunities for fraud on the part of venial officials and politicians.

(8) The depopulation of the countryside results from far deeper causes than mere inability to obtain allotments, one of the chief being that, owing to the rapid spread of education, a craving has arisen on the part of the rural population for a fuller and more varied life than the countryside affords.

(9) The chief cause of overcrowding is the large surplus.

(10) The evil effects of cities on the vitality of a race are much exaggerated. Statistics show that the death-rate in London is exceptionally low, while the sports so freely indulged in by the townsman greatly promote his bodily health.

(11) The existence of a leisured class is necessary for the maintenance of the art and culture of the nation. The services rendered by the landed gentry are numerous, and, on the whole, efficiently and economically performed.

(12) Art collections in public buildings have not the same refining influence that they have in private houses, where each object is more individualized, and in more appropriate surroundings. As owned at present, they are in many cases thrown open to the public at stated times, and thus the influence they

(14) The present system enables the landlord to appropriate, especially in large cities, improvements made by his tenant, and, when a tenancy is renewed, to charge him a higher rental on the strength of them.

(15) Property in land has led to abuses such as the Highland clearances (by which thousands of hard-working people have been ousted from their homes to make way for sheep and eventually for deer); to the Irish land difficulties; and to the enclosure of commons in England, by which the agricultural labourer has been deprived of a grazing place, formerly free to him, for his cow. (See COMMON LANDS.)

(16) Landlords long refused all requests on the part of labourers for land for allotments, gardens, etc., and even now let them only at rentals equal to three or four times as much per acre as the farmer pays for his land. Allotments have in consequence not been taken nearly as freely as they would have been had a fair rent been put upon them.

(17) By the system of royalties and way-leaves charged by the owners of the land, they have seriously handicapped English colliery-owners in their competition with the lessees of the State-owned mines in Germany, Spain, etc., where royalties do not exist.

(18) Peasant proprietorship has proved absolutely ineffectual to improve the lot of the poor: it has rescued the peasant from the hands of the landlord merely to put him into the power of the money-lender. Neither has it solved the question of unearned increment, for why should the peasant proprietor reap where he has not sown, any more than the landlord? (See PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP.)

(19) The owners of land, in large cities especially, have imposed the harshest terms on their tenants.

(20) The present system has checked development by charging extortionate prices for land required for public purposes.

(21) The present system has led to great waste by way of over-con-

exercise is diffused over the whole country, instead of being limited to London or other cities. Moreover, when dispersed, art collections, or their chief treasures, more often go to America than not.

(13) If the landlord gains by a large population on his land, he loses heavily by its migration. If the community were to tax him for unearned gains, it ought in like manner to compensate him for undeserved loss. (See LAND VALUES.)

(14) The question of tenants' improvements and repairs is one that should be agreed upon before a lease is entered into. Should the tenant undertake repairs, he already gets in all cases a *quid pro quo* in the form of a reduced rental.

(15) Public opinion is the best safeguard against abuse of power by landlords; and though hardships have, no doubt, been inflicted in the past, it is with the needs of the day that we have to deal. All transitions in the social and industrial worlds are necessarily accompanied by hardships. The personal factor enters largely into the present excellent relations between landlord and tenant.

(16) Landlords are obliged to charge more for an allotment than for a farm, since (a) the expenses of rent collecting are heavier; (b) while the farmer takes the land as it is, bad land being often intermixed with good, the allotment-holder takes only a choice plot; (c) the expense of subdivision and the chance of the less desirable plots remaining untenanted must be covered. Labourers are eager for allotments at the present rents, and consequently must find them profitable.

(17) Royalties, way-leaves, etc., simply represent the price a lessee is willing to pay for a well-situated mine in preference to a less-favoured mine. They do not affect the price of coal; were they abolished, the lessees would be better off, but not the nation. In Spain and Germany, where the State owns the minerals, it is a usual practice for a lessee not

sumption of the mineral resources of the country, due to the landowner's desire to get money at all costs.

(22) Though it would be a costly process to buy out the landlords, the investment would pay in the long run. Landlords should be paid in redeemable land bonds. When the London docks were transferred to the Port of London Authority, the shareholders were paid, not in cash, but in Port of London stock. The landlord would merely use his special privilege of selecting tenants and appropriating the rent. The future increase in the value of the land could be applied to the redemption of the bonds, and if the land only doubles in value in seventy years the unearned increment would redeem all the bonds, and supply in an aggregate an addition of over £2,000,000,000 for public services. Under such a scheme there would be all the advantages of public ownership from the beginning, and a progressively increasing new source of revenue, which would culminate in the whole of the rental value of the land being available for the common good, and the corresponding reduction or abolition of taxes upon industry.

(23) Notices could be given to landlords to quit at the end of, say, 100 years. This would be equitable to the landlords, who, if they sold, would get about thirty years' purchase, and on the part of the State it would be a net advantage, since it would involve no payments for compensation. The State might as an alternative levy a heavy graduated tax on rents, and ultimately bring all rents into the national treasury.

(24) The State would manage the land better than private landlords, in the same degree as large estates are better managed than small. The Commissioners of Woods and Forests, city corporations, etc., manage large estates liberally and well; and the glare of publicity that is thrown upon the doings of a State department tends to keep it efficient.

to work the mine himself, but to sub-lease it.

(18) Peasant proprietorship, by making a man master of his own holding, frees him from all outside interference. There is no class so free or so thrifty as the French peasant proprietors, by whose savings France was enabled to pay the enormous war indemnity of 1871. A government tenant, on the other hand, being always harassed by the red tape of a Department, would rarely be able to make the most of his land. (See PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP.)

(19) Landlords, as a rule, impose only such terms as are intended to guard their property against abuse. (See LEASEHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT.)

(20) The Lands Clauses Acts and the various acts incorporating them, prevent the landowner from levying anything in the form of blackmail upon the public.

(21) The State would not be likely to use minerals more carefully than present owners, nor is there any evidence that they have been wasted. They are limited in quantity, and will therefore be exhausted in time; but some efficient substitute will no doubt have been discovered before then.

(22) To buy out landlords at a fair price would cripple the resources of the nation for many years, and, moreover, create an idle class, without responsibilities. Were the whole of the estates of this country made over to the State they would very soon be run at a loss to the exchequer, what with the wastage in management and the extra expenses of collecting, supervising, etc. Many properties are even now being run at a loss by their proprietors.

(23) It would be most unjust to landlords if the State were suddenly to change a permanent interest into a merely temporary one. The land represents the landlord's capital and the rent his interest: by this proposal the State would allow him interest for a limited period, but would confiscate his capital. The

(23) The State or municipal authorities might be allowed to experiment on a small scale at first, and, if successful, to enlarge the sphere of their operations.

extent of the confiscation can be seen if we compare the relative prices paid for a leasehold for 100 years and for a freehold. It would lead the landowners to get all they could out of the land during their limited tenure. There is no essential difference between a high income tax on rent, and confiscation. Taxation should be imposed to provide for necessities; to apply it to the purpose of reducing inequalities in wealth, or abolishing a particular class of property, is to use it for an entirely wrong purpose.

(24) Land would not be better managed by the public than in private hands. The departments are always very careful in their management.

(25) To allow local authorities or the State herself to experiment in land-holding would be very costly, and quite inconclusive, since, as soon as they became sole owners without rivalry or criticism, their energy would flag, and their management deteriorate.

*See also CO-OPERATION; INDIVIDUALISM; SOCIALISM.*

### LAND VALUES, TAXATION OF

**Pro:** (1) Land, limited in quantity, the natural dwelling-place, storehouse and workshop of labour, the source of all wealth, owing its value to the presence, needs, activities and expenditure of the community that lives upon it, stands in an economic category by itself, and has a value of its own—a value which is a peculiarly fit subject for, and a uniquely just basis of, taxation.

(2) There is practically a monopoly in land-owning in this country, and taxation of land values will have the result of giving the people easier access to the land, which is a crying national need.

(3) The owner, partly by law, partly by agreement, is able to throw the payment of all rates on to the shoulders of the occupier.

(4) The would-be tenant very rarely takes rates and taxes into consideration; to him the house is worth so much a year, and as competition has fixed this already high,

**Con:** (1) Because land differs from every other kind of property (which cannot be denied) it does not follow that the community is justified in cancelling property in land, or (which amounts to very nearly the same thing) to impose a special tax upon it.

(2) There is no land monopoly in England. There are in England and Wales alone at least a million freeholders. What is wanted is not easier access to the land, but easier access to capital.

(3) The landlord makes his contribution to local rates, for the burden which rates impose upon the property reduces the rent which the landlord can command. He does not touch the increased value made during a lease until its expiry. During its term, the benefit accrues to the leaseholder. At its termination he takes over not only its increased value but also the increased burdens. The burden of the

any amount that the landlord pays in rates will hardly induce him to offer more. The fact that landlords have had to pay Landlord's Property Tax, though levied in the first instance from the tenant, has had no appreciable influence on rent.

(5) When many of the existing contracts were made it could not have been foreseen by either party that rates would rise to anything like their present height, so as the circumstances have materially altered since the contracts were signed, Parliament is justified in interfering.

(6) Since not only the occupier but all the various interests which come between occupier and ground landlord, as well as the latter, benefit to a certain degree by even the most ephemeral rates (e.g., lighting), and in a greater degree proportionately as the objects for which the rates were raised become of a more permanent nature (e.g. paving), each of the various interests should contribute towards rates.

(7) Since owners are enabled to draw an enormous profit from the numbers and industry of their fellow-citizens, it is only fair that they should also contribute towards their burdens.

(8) The occupier is, under the present system, taxed on the improvements put by him into his landlord's property.

(9) At present if two men hold plots of land of equal value in the same rating area, and one leaves his entirely unused, whilst the other makes the best possible use of it, rates are levied, on a steeply-ascending scale, according to the annual value of the good uses to which the land is put, and the improvements that labour has wrought. The withholder of land is favoured at the expense of the industrious user of land, who is penalized precisely in the ratio of his industry. If land values were made the basis of local rating, both would make equal contributions to the rates in respect of equal land values, equally due to the surrounding community.

rates is discounted when the land is leased. Thus landowners do not escape their fair share of taxation. Since the occupier agreed to pay all rates, there is no injustice in his having to pay them. Why should the State be asked to interfere so long as the rates are secured from the property?

(4) Rent is generally a matter of keen bargain, and there is no doubt that if the occupier knew that he was going to be free from certain charges, he would be disposed to pay more.

(5) Had the rates fallen instead of risen, the tenant would have been the last person to have tendered a higher rental. Parliament should never interfere with the sanctity of contract.

(6) It would be absolutely impossible to estimate from the rental, etc., what interest each of the various owners or tenants has in a particular property; even ground rents are often arbitrarily allotted between areas of the same value, and there are many other considerations in the agreements between the various middlemen and their tenants and sub-tenants.

(7) Ground values are only one out of many forms of investment which have become appreciated; and it would be impossible to get at all other forms of appreciated property. Land does not always rise in value; even when it does the increment is often less than the sum which the landowner could have secured by investing his money at compound interest. The man who takes the risk of loss must also be allowed the hope of gain.

(8) The tenant in the interim has the use not only of the improvements he himself puts into the property, but also of whatever increased value and convenience may accrue.

(9) In a town the value of sites is rarely as much as a fifth of the value of the whole property. If, therefore, buildings were exempted from rating it would be necessary to impose a five-fold rate on land. This would mean a land values rate of 30s. to 50s. in the £. Who is to



(10) Landowners derive special advantages from municipal expenditure, and therefore ought to make a special contribution towards meeting it. During the continuance of a long lease municipal improvements are often made, to which the landlord contributes nothing, though they increase the value of his land.

(11) Inasmuch as the municipal authorities are bound to pay off within a few decades all debts contracted for works of permanent value, the greater part of the burden in these cases falls on the occupier, while the landlord receives the ultimate benefit.

(12) In consequence of the undue severity with which the present system of raising rates presses on occupiers, there is a strong opposition on their part to any measures of improvement; thus much necessary work has to be put on one side owing to the opposition of rate-payers.

(13) The law ought not to allow one class of the community to contract itself out of its responsibilities; even if owners were poor, which as a rule they are not, they should not be exonerated from their civic duties.

(14) The taxation of land on its true capital value, by making it unprofitable to hold land idle or partially idle, would ensure that land should come into use for building, or for any other industrial purpose for which it is best suited, when and as it is wanted, and this would multiply openings for the employment of labour. The freeing of buildings and other improvements from taxation would remove the burdens which now discourage the exercise of industry upon the land even where access to it has been had.

(15) When an ordinary non-monopolized commodity is taxed, the flow of capital into the business of producing it is checked. House accommodation is a commodity on which rise of price has a great effect. A tax on true rent has no such indirect effect. Absolute justice in these matters is an unattainable ideal

pay it, and how it is to be paid, has not yet been explained.

(10) The fact that some land increases in value owing to municipal enterprise does not justify a special tax on all land, including land which may have actually depreciated in value owing to some municipal action. It is a fallacy to assume that because one piece of land when sold for a building site fetches a high price, all the land in the neighbourhood can be sold at the same price. Nothing can be sold unless there is a demand for it; the State cannot create a demand for anything merely by putting a tax on it.

(11) To tax the landlord on his reversionary interest in any public improvement would be to tax capital during the lifetime of its owner—a practice contrary to the first principles of finance, as discouraging the habit of saving, and the accumulation of wealth by the people.

(12) The fact that the burdens of taxation fall on occupiers makes them more keen to keep municipal expenditure in check, and to curb undue extravagance.

(13) The ground landlord does indirectly pay rates. Ground rents are largely held by a class of poor people, who would feel any extra taxation very heavily. Most of the persons who would suffer from a special tax are not rich, but are middle-class or working-class people who have laboriously accumulated a few hundred pounds and invested it in English land—in ground rents and freehold property, by means of friendly societies, building societies, and insurance companies—on the security of the laws of England.

(14) Are workmen who withhold their work until they can obtain a price which they think adequate, to be taxed till they come to terms with their employer? The holding back of urban sites, where it occurs, tends to drive the population more into the country, and this is a distinct gain. It would not, however compel strong holders to sell; the



(16) Consols are Government stock or funds used for the maintenance of national or Imperial services. A tax of 100 per cent. on the dividends drawn from Consols would make national loans a thing of the past. The national capital would not be replenished, and the purposes for which the loan was raised would fail. A tax of 100 per cent. on land would have a different result. The land would not disappear, and the services which give land its value would not be withdrawn.

(17) If any taxation that may be thrown on landlords will fall on tenants, it is not easy to see why the landlords should oppose this tax.

(18) It has made for security and stability in the Colonies.

(19) When all land is valued we shall have, for the first time, the proper financial basis for land nationalization.

(20\*) It would enable an equitable readjustment of taxation to be made as between one district and another. Where the advantages of Government are small, land values are low, and taxation (if based on land values) would be low also.

(21\*) An officially-recorded valuation will render impossible the glaring disparity between the value which the landlord returns for his land when it is a question of paying rates to the community, and the value he puts upon it when he is asked to sell it to the community for some useful purpose.

main effect of such a tax would be to wipe away small owners.

(15) Such taxation arbitrarily selects the particular class of persons who happen to own ground rents for taxation; and is unjust. Many ground rents are owned by poor men's insurance companies; nor in any case does injustice cease to be injustice because it is levelled at the well-to-do.

(16) Though landowners often neither toil nor spin, neither does the owner of Consols or municipal stock. If the good faith of the community is involved in the punctual payment of the annuities which owners of Consols have purchased or inherited, it is equally involved in the equitable treatment of the rents which the owners of land have purchased or inherited. If one of the two were picked out for penal taxation, a serious blow would be aimed at commercial credit.

(17) Such a tax would upset existing contracts, and thus cause great inconvenience and distrust generally; while, in future, contracts would not benefit the tenant at all.

(18) We cannot argue from the Colonies to this country.

(19) Taxation of land values is the first step towards Land Nationalization and Socialism.

## LEASEHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT

**Pro :** (1) All property is held subject to the will of the people, as expressed through the State, and is subject to its conformity with the highest interests of the community at large.

(2) The ownership of the land on which London and other large towns are built, being concentrated in a few hands, constitutes a monopoly, which is further accentuated when it is remembered how relatively small a proportion of the land is available for residential purposes.

**Con :** (1) Though the State has power to confiscate the property of any of its members without compensation, she would be very wrong to do so, for she would thereby strike a blow at the sanctity of property, without which no industry is possible. A very clear case must be made out to show that the public interest demands that she should take land; and full compensation must be paid for all rights dispossessed.

(2) The land on which London

(3) Most men are bound to live in particular localities, and there can therefore be no "freedom of contract" between them and the ground landlords.

(4) The State has already interfered with freedom of contract in the case of railway companies requiring land, when it compels the landlord to sell at a fair price.

(5) The concentration of the land in so few hands is a danger to the rights of property generally; for the more widely property is distributed, the safer will it be against the attacks of nationalizers, etc.

(6) Leasehold Enfranchisement involves no confiscation of property, since a fair price would be paid.

(7) The landlord taxes his tenants on improvements they have made, by fines, increased rents, etc., which are especially hard on a shopkeeper who may have worked up a business in a district which he is consequently obliged to live in, or lose his money.

(8) The Leasehold system, by rendering the tenure of the builder a limited one, induces him to fix his rentals high in order to compensate himself for his risk.

(9) The present system enables the landlord to place any restrictions he may see fit on the liberty of his tenants, and often prevents them from making improvements. The local authorities have power already (and if not sufficient they could easily get enlarged powers) to prevent a purchaser from making himself a nuisance, or depreciating the property of his neighbours.

(10) By announcing improvements as going to be made at the end of, say, twenty years, the landlord checks all improvements in the meantime by the tenant.

(11) The Leasehold system encourages jerry-building, because no builder has any interest in erecting a house that will last beyond his term.

(12) It has led to the system of leases on lives, which effectually bars all improvements by the tenant.

(13) The tenant, being unable to buy his freehold, is unwilling to im-

and other large towns are built in no sense a monopoly.

(3) Since no man is bound to live in any particular locality, perfect freedom of contract exists between tenant and landlord.

(4) State interference is justified in requiring landlords to sell their land to the railway companies at a fair price, for this is obviously in the public interest, though even here injustice is often done (as when a railway is constructed to go through a particular part of an estate to the great injury of the rest). Leasehold Enfranchisement breaks through a free contract in order to benefit a certain limited class of men.

(5) Nothing would be so dangerous to the rights of property as ill-advised interference with them on the part of the Legislature, since it would always form a bad precedent.

(6) There is no security nor provision that the landlord under Leasehold Enfranchisement would get true compensation. For instance, where the landlord is obliged to sell to the railway, the latter has to pay him a price 10 per cent. over and above the market price, in consideration of the compulsory element in the bargain. But this is not allowed for in the case of Leasehold Enfranchisement, nor is any allowance to be made for the fact that the property may be broken up, and its value seriously impaired, by the sale of a particular lot; nor for the uncertainty such a power would introduce into the relations between landlord and tenant, since the tenant, being allowed to buy at any time, would choose the moment most convenient to himself, and might thus involve the landlord in considerable loss.

(7) The tenant when he takes a house does so with his eyes open, and on terms which he knows perfectly well. Where the tenant gets a house at a low rent, on an improving lease, it is only right that the landlord should get some *quid pro quo* for having been kept so long out of his money.

(8) Both the rent which the

prove his landlord's property, so that the present system tends to let houses fall out of repair at the end of the lease. The contrary would be the case if the house became the unrestricted property of the tenant.

(14) A man would be able to borrow money more easily on a freehold than on a leasehold; hence, there would be no difficulty about the purchase.

(15) The Leasehold system encourages overcrowding, by bringing into existence a class of middlemen who, in certain districts, buy the "fag ends" of leases; and, having converted them into lodgings, make a profit out of overcrowding. As building land is much more valuable than agricultural land, owners would always be glad to use land for the former purpose, which fact would ensure a sufficient supply of houses, and tend to keep rents at a low level.

(16) The Leasehold system, which is of comparatively modern date, scarcely exists outside England, and here only in certain parts of the country.

(17) Leasehold Enfranchisement to be effective must include existing leases.

(18) It would not prevent the nationalization of the land, etc.; in fact, it would be a first step towards it.

tenant pays to the house owner, and the rent which the latter pays to the ground landlord, are fixed by the law of supply and demand.

(9) The restrictions contained in leases are generally such as will prevent the tenant from making himself a nuisance to his neighbours.

(10) The present landlords can carry out improvements on a large scale, which would be impossible in the case of small freeholders.

(11) The great landlords impose stringent regulations for the prevention of jerry-building, which is consequently all but unknown on large estates.

(12) Leases on lives are comparatively uncommon, and certainly not sufficient to justify a wide revolutionary measure such as that proposed.

(13) Even if the leaseholder could buy his freehold, he often could not do anything more; hence the repairs would not be nearly so well done as under a leasehold. Since the working man is rarely able to take his house for a longer period than a year, it is not likely he would benefit by the proposed change.

(14) The general sense of insecurity which Leasehold Enfranchisement would effect, would be fatal to any chance a man might have of borrowing money on his freehold.

(15) How little overcrowding has to do with the Leasehold system is proved by the experience of the American cities, where, though leaseholds are almost unknown, overcrowding is as great an evil as in London. Though the speculative middleman is tempted to buy "fag ends" of leases, in order to make money by overcrowding, even then he is meeting a public need and providing extra accommodation for working men. Leasehold Enfranchisement, on the other hand, by depriving landlords of all incentive to turn their land into building sites, would accentuate the existing evil by rendering it impossible to acquire sufficient house accommodation for the needs of a growing population.

(16) The Leasehold system has been devised to meet the wants of the people of London and other large towns; so that the experience of a whole continent is of no great value, unless its wants are shown to be identical.

(17) To make Leasehold Enfranchisement retrospective would simply be a transfer of the property of one man into the pockets of another, and would favour one party to a contract at the expense of the other.

(18) It would be a distinctly reactionary measure, and, if it succeeded, would create a large class of men who were opposed to all reform whatsoever.

### LICENSING ACT (1904) BE AMENDED, SHOULD THE

For arguments for and against Compensation, see also p. 44.

**Pro :** (1) The Act in disturbing the *status quo ante* seriously limited the powers of the licensing justices to regulate the number of licences in force. It practically annihilated the discretion the law had hitherto given to the magistrates.

(2) The Act was intended to endow public houses. It has given a vested interest to the liquor seller.

(3) There could be no hardship in refusing to renew a licence, since licences were always given as a matter of grace without any legal right of renewal.

(4) The licence-holder possesses a privilege which no ordinary trader possesses—a monopoly. The community ought to recover domination over the property in the monopoly value which the community has created. That can only be done by fixing upon a time-limit, after which compensation shall cease to be payable for any extinction of old licences, and such licences as it shall be decided to re-issue shall only be granted on the full monopoly value of the licence being paid for it.

(5) All talk about robbery and confiscation is sheer impertinence. It is the insolent assumption of an annual tenant claiming permanent ownership of a privilege of which he is only the temporary grantee.

**Con :** (1) Licensing justices do not sit as a court. Although magistrates had a strict legal right to refuse to renew licences even where there had been no misconduct, renewal in such cases had become customary, and in course of years had approximated to positive law.

(2) The Act facilitated the reduction of licences, where it was considered such was required, by relieving the justices of the feeling that they might be sacrificing private interests to the public weal. The creation of a pension fund, contributed to by the licence-holders, secures licence-holders deprived of their licences through no fault of their own, against financial loss, while at the same time casting no burden on the community.

(3) The practice previous to the adoption of the measure of some justices arbitrarily refusing without cause to renew licences inflicted considerable hardship on a legal and respectable trade, which was moreover degraded by the consequent discouragement of men of substance and good character from entering it.

(4) The appointment of a time-limit of twenty-one years would affect very unfairly a licence-holder who had paid his premium annually

Time notice is an act of grace. Under the Act of 1828, which is the governing Act on the subject, an ordinary public-house licence is granted "for one whole year and no longer." Licence-holders and owners of licensed property have not a right of renewal, but an expectation of renewal defeasible and in fact, often defeated. This has a market value, but it cannot affect the legal right of the grantor of that privilege to decline to continue it after the time for which it was last granted has expired. There cannot be any effective control of the liquor trade unless the State is in a position to exercise full dominion over its own licences. It cannot do that unless it is in full possession of them, and it cannot be in full possession of them if the holders are in any way recognized as having any financial interest in or other claim upon them beyond the term for which they may be issued. If a licence be granted in return for a payment which is enormously below its actual value to the person who gets it, it becomes equivalent to a large monetary gift to him. The State can only resume full control over its own licences by requiring that their proper value shall be paid for them.

(6) If the principle of compensation were accepted, the fund created under the Act is quite insufficient for the purpose. The result of the measure has been to retard the reduction of drinking facilities.

(7) Under the Act the number of licences suppressed must become progressively less. Each extinction of a licence increases the value of those remaining, while at the same time it diminishes the field from which the compensation fund may be drawn. It would take fifty years to reduce the licences in England and Wales by one-fourth, taking £2,000 as the average value of a house. There would then still be one licence for every 440 inhabitants, excluding the increase of population in the period named.

(8) There is no need to make the resident population the only

for that period and then had his licence confiscated, receiving no compensation. With time-limit and licence confiscation in the near future, the owners of the remaining houses would not want to spend money on enlarging them to meet their increased custom. The expectation of a licence-renewal has been bought on the assumption that it will continue to be granted at something like the old figure; it would therefore be unfair to create an entirely new basis for arriving at the costs of renewal.

(5) Although it may be true that a licence-holder cannot legally demand that his licence should be renewed, even although he has been guilty of no misconduct and has conducted the house in every way as it should be conducted, the State as a matter of fact has by the system of licences created a perfectly genuine expectation of renewal, which is founded upon custom and solid reason. Vast sums of money have been invested in licensed houses on the strength of this expectation, and whatever the legal right, Parliament has no moral right to suddenly rob the man who has chosen to invest his earnings in this particular way of his savings. The market value of a licence was based upon the assumption of a right of renewal, and not upon the basis of the term for which it was issued. That which is worth £150,000,000, devisable by will, is surely property. The State can exercise a far more effective control over its own licences by refusing to renew them solely on grounds of misconduct than by visiting this punishment on the just and the unjust indiscriminately.

(6) The fund for compensation may be inadequate from the point of view of the man to be compensated, but it comes from the pockets of his competitors, and they do not benefit to the full extent of his loss.

(7) The object of licensing legislation is not to abolish public-houses, but to limit them to the needs of the population. It is quite proper

standard for fixing the number of public-houses.

(9) That the presence of facilities leads to drink is shown by the enormously high mortality of publicans and the stupendous proportion of that mortality which is due to alcoholism. Where the facilities for obtaining drink are, as in France and Denmark, practically unlimited, the drink question has become a pressing problem: in Norway a restrictive and controlling policy has had precisely the opposite effect. The number who drink because they are poor is small compared with the number who are poor because they drink.

(10) The Sunday Closing Acts which are in operation in Scotland, Ireland and Wales were each in turn after they had passed attacked because it was alleged private, secret and illicit drinking had been encouraged. In each case a Royal Commission or a Select Committee was eventually appointed to inquire into the operation of the Act. In every case the Act was declared to have been extremely beneficial. (See SUNDAY CLOSING.) If the Licensing Bill will not diminish drinking, why all this talk about unemployment and ruining the investor? Why do the brewers oppose it so vigorously?

(11) As a matter of experience we find that where there are most public-houses in proportion to population there are also the most clubs. It is the brewer who supplies, encourages and often finances clubs.

(12) One effect of the Act is to prevent the voluntary surrender of licences worthless in a remunerative sense.

(13) The transfer of the jurisdiction to Quarter Sessions has increased an injustice concerning which in the past many complaints have already been made. For three-quarters of a century the injustice has repeatedly been pointed out of the persistent refusal of Quarter Sessions, composed of justices who may know nothing of the borough affected, to uphold the local licensing justices in their refu-

that the licences suppressed should become progressively less, for there will be progressively less need for reduction.

(8) If the Act is so amended as to further limit the number of houses, overcrowding in those remaining will result. The idea of fixing the number of houses according to resident population, and ignoring the element of day population, is delusive.

(9) Habitual inebriety is seldom, or perhaps never, acquired—it is congenital. Occasional drunkenness is due mainly to social and economic conditions. Neither of these classes would be affected by the "decrease in facilities" which would be brought about by the Licensing Bill.

(10) As the reductions were enforced and the restrictions increased, the regular patrons of the public-houses in the neighbourhood concerned would pass more and more to the clubs. The low class of "drinking" clubs would be enormously increased. The main alternative to clubs will be found in home drinking. Home drinking is far worse than public drinking. The presence of a dozen bottles of beer in the home will be a standing temptation to drink a dozen bottles. Children cannot be excluded from the room where the liquor is drunk.

(11) It would be far better to convert the public-house into a club than the club into a public-house.

(12) Though the voluntary surrender of unremunerative licences may be small, most of them are disappearing compulsorily.

(13) Justice between the trade and public rights is best obtained by the removal of the administration of the law from the influence of local prejudices to the wider and more impartial field of a larger body, such as Quarter Sessions.



sals to renew licences. Local justices are more competent than the Quarter Sessions to deal with the question of licences. The former know local requirements, while the latter do not.

*See also* DRINK, FREE TRADE IN; GOTHENBURG SYSTEM; LOCAL OPTION; LOCAL VETO; SUNDAY CLOSING; TIED HOUSES.

## LOCAL OPTION

**Pro :** (1) The present system works very badly. No body is better fitted to deal with the question than the Town and County Councils, which, being representative local bodies, know the wants of the localities much better than licensing magistrates.

(2) The people ought to possess the power through a vote of the local electors to protect themselves against the admitted evils of the liquor traffic: if the people of a neighbourhood think a public-house is a nuisance, they ought to have the power to abate that nuisance.

(3) Where evils exist, the liberty of the minority must give way to the interests of the community as a whole; moreover, if individual houses were closed, it would only happen by the vote of the local majority. The number of houses open is far in excess of the public wants.

(4) The question of temperance is one of the most important questions of the day, and the more it bears upon local elections the better.

(5) Municipal authorities are well fitted to deal with questions of public morals; and the more pernicious the trade, the greater is the need for its control by the Municipality.

(6) Compensation would still leave the municipalities a decent margin of profit.

(7) The Local Option laws work excellently in the Colonies.

**Con :** (1) The present system on the whole works well; the licensing magistrates administer the law ably and impartially.

(2) Local Option would enable a body of local faddists to work grave injustice to all the local members of a perfectly respectable trade, and would give the local majority in a quite unnecessary way the power of tyrannizing over those who differed from them.

(3) Local Option would be an infringement of the rights of the subject, and lead to the arbitrary and unnecessary closing of many public-houses.

(4) It would introduce a new element into municipal elections, and often be the issue upon which elections would turn.

(5) Municipal authorities ought to have no concern in liquor licensing, as it would give them an interest in the trade which would be demoralizing.

(6) Compensation would have to be given, which would either be ruinous, or lead municipalities to allow houses to remain open, thus nullifying the measure.

(7) The conditions in the Colonies are not comparable.

## LOCAL VETO

**Pro :** (1) Power should be given to the ratepayers of every locality to elect whether they should tolerate the sale of intoxicants in their

**Con :** (1) The drink question is not a local one: the needs of *bona fide* travellers by road or rail have to be considered. It is a question



midst or not, because they best know their own interests.

(2) It is fully in accord with democratic principles, and has been found to work well.

(3) It would relieve municipal authorities of the work proposed to be handed over to them under Local Option.

for the State, and not for local opinion. In no circumstances would Local Veto be successful; it would operate only in those districts where, owing to the natural sobriety, it was unnecessary; and lead to secret drinking.

(2) Local Veto would cause strife and tyranny.

(3) Local Option is the right solution of the drink problem. (*See LOCAL OPTION.*)

*See also* DRINK, FREE TRADE IN; LICENSING ACT; COMPENSATION; GOTHENBURG SYSTEM.

### LORDS, HOUSE OF, ABOLITION OF. SINGLE-CHAMBER GOVERNMENT

**Pro :** (1) The tendency of all modern Governments is to centre in one Chamber. None of the autonomous Colonies like their second Chambers, which are usually lacking in ability and command small public respect. The most representative Chambers send up the rejected Bills to them again and again, and the Imperial Government, by resorting to the machinery of conferences between the two Houses, steadily aim at diminishing their power. Great Britain is a conservative country: all the natural checks on extremes will still operate. We have had effective single-chamber government during the greater part of the last generation—when-ever, in fact, there has been a Tory majority in the House of Commons. People who approve of this arrangement cannot logically defend the bi-cameral system.

(2) There is no real danger now of a single chamber prolonging itself in power indefinitely; popular feeling would make that quite impossible. A liberty-loving people could never be enslaved by a popularly-elected chamber. Whilst the uncontrolled despot is not placed in his position by popular choice, the single chamber is elected by the people, and therefore is always controlled by the men who have put it in power, i.e., the electorate. The bi-cameral system is a most slow and cumbrous way of conducting public business.

**Con :** (1) The whole consensus of educated opinion in the United Kingdom is in favour of a second chamber; the principle has been approved and adopted in all our self-governing colonies and throughout the world wherever democratic systems obtain. In Europe only three countries have a single chamber: Greece, Servia and Bulgaria. In several cases (Pennsylvania, Vermont and Georgia) in the American states, single-chamber government had has a good trial, but it has always been found necessary to bring back the second chamber.

(2) The uncontrolled government of a single chamber is as dangerous as the uncontrolled government of a single man: the temptation of absolute power is too great. The single chamber would have no impartial body to send it to the country for the confirmation of doubtful or revolutionary measures. It could vote itself, as did the Long Parliament in 1641, into a permanent autocracy. In history it has always meant the suppression of liberty either beneath the hand of the assembly itself or of the constitutional idol of the assembly.

(3) The first effect of a second chamber is to present an undoubted security against hasty legislation: it gives an opportunity for reflection and full consideration.

(4) The House of Lords has ensured the continued service to the

(3) No Parliament which represents a conservative people like the English is ever likely to be guilty of precipitate legislation.

(4) The House of Lords has often been responsible for withdrawing men from useful public service in the Commons to the cramped atmosphere of the Lords, and has thus ended many a promising man's political career.

(5) The existence of the House of Lords sometimes forces Governments to appoint inferior men to important posts, in order to obtain the requisite proportion of Peers.

(6) The fact of a Minister being a member of the House of Lords renders him less amenable to criticism than if he were a member of the Lower House; this is especially felt where the Minister holds the position of Secretary of State.

(7) No institution ought to be allowed to exist unless it can be shown that it fulfils a useful purpose.

nation of men who, for various reasons, would be unable to face contested elections, but whose experience entitles them to a voice in the national councils; if it were abolished, the only result would be to fill the House of Commons with peers, and we should thus practically lose our House of Commons.

(5) The obligation to take so many Ministers from the House of Lords is no worse in its effect on the status of Ministers than a similar provision with regard to the Commons. In fact, it opens the door for Ministers to raise a specially able man to the peerage, in order to secure his services as a Minister.

(6) It would be quite possible to arrange that Ministers should be able to speak and answer questions in either House, though not able to vote. The House of Commons already has the power to summon strangers to address it on particular points; hence the power is already there when Parliament and the Government shall agree to take advantage of it.

(7) Any existing institution, especially if it can point to an ancient and honourable career, has, *ipso facto*, an argument for its continuance.

## LORDS, HOUSE OF: LIMITATION OF THE VETO OF

The following is the Parliament Bill as introduced in 1911:

Whereas it is expedient that provision should be made for regulating the relations between the two Houses of Parliament:

And whereas it is intended to substitute for the House of Lords as it at present exists a Second Chamber constituted on a popular instead of hereditary basis, but such substitution cannot be immediately brought into operation:

And whereas provision will require hereafter to be made by Parliament in a measure effecting such substitution for limiting and defining the powers of the new Second Chamber, but it is expedient to make such provision as in this Act appears for restricting the existing powers of the House of Lords:

Be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. (i) If a Money Bill, having been passed by the House of Commons and sent up to the House of Lords at least one month before the end of the session, is not passed by the House of Lords without amendment within one month after it is so sent up to that House, the bill shall, unless the House of Commons direct to the contrary, be presented to his Majesty and become an Act of Parliament on the Royal Assent being signified, notwithstanding that the House of Lords have not consented to the bill.

(ii) A Money Bill means a bill which in the opinion of Speaker of the House of Commons contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following

subjects, namely: The imposition, repeal, remission, alteration, or regulation of taxation; charges on the Consolidated Fund or the provision of money by Parliament; supply; the appropriation, control, or regulation of public money; the raising or guarantee of any loan or the repayment thereof; or matters incidental to those subjects or any of them.

(iii) When a bill to which the House of Lords has not consented is presented to his Majesty for assent as a Money Bill, the bill shall be accompanied by a certificate of the Speaker of the House of Commons that it is a Money Bill.

(iv) No amendment shall be allowed to a Money Bill which, in the opinion of the Speaker of the House of Commons, is such as to prevent the bill retaining the character of a Money Bill.

2. (i) If any bill other than a Money Bill is passed by the House of Commons in three successive Sessions (whether of the same Parliament or not), and, having been sent up to the House of Lords at least one month before the end of the Session, is rejected by the House of Lords in each of those Sessions, that bill shall, on its rejection for the third time by the House of Lords, unless the House of Commons direct to the contrary, be presented to his Majesty and become an Act of Parliament on the Royal Assent being signified thereto, notwithstanding that the House of Lords has not consented to the bill, provided that this provision shall not take effect unless two years have elapsed between the date of the first introduction of the bill in the House of Commons and the date on which it passes the House of Commons for the third time.

(ii) A bill shall be deemed to be rejected by the House of Lords if it is not passed by the House of Lords either without amendment or with such amendments only as may be agreed to by both Houses.

(iii) A bill shall be deemed to be the same bill as a former bill sent up to the House of Lords in the preceding session if, when it is sent up to the House of Lords, it is identical with the former bill or contains only such alterations as are certified by the Speaker of the House of Commons to be necessary owing to the time which has elapsed since the date of the former bill, or to represent amendments which have been made by the House of Lords in the former bill in the preceding session.

Provided that the House of Commons may, if they think fit, on the passage of such a bill through the House in the second or third session, suggest any further amendments without inserting the amendments in the bill, and any such suggested amendments shall be considered by the House of Lords, and if agreed to by that House, shall be treated as amendments made by the House of Lords, and agreed to by the House of Commons; but the exercise of this power by the House of Commons shall not affect the operation of this section in the event of the bill being rejected by the House of Lords.

3. Any certificate of the Speaker of the House of Commons given under this Act shall be conclusive for all purposes, and shall not be questioned in any court of law.

4. Nothing in this Act shall diminish or qualify the existing rights and privileges of the House of Commons.

5. Five years shall be substituted for seven years as the time fixed for the maximum duration of Parliament under the Septennial Act, 1715.

**Pro:** (1) In June, 1907, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman proposed the following resolution, which was carried: "That in order to give effect to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives, it is necessary that the power of the other House to alter or reject Bills passed by this House should be so restricted by law as to secure that within the limits of a single Parliament the final decision of the House of Commons shall prevail." The Parliament Bill, 1911, which embodies the earlier resolution would secure the passage of a

**Con:** (1) It is impossible to deal adequately with the question of the powers of the House of Lords until we know what sort of a House of Lords it is that we are talking about. The real question is not what are the powers which you can give to an imperfectly constituted House, but what are the powers which any Second Chamber in any civilized community ought to be entrusted with; and if the House of Lords, as at present constituted, is not fit to be entrusted with those powers, what are the changes that are necessary in order to render it competent

Bill during the existence of the Parliament, and not after a dissolution forced by the Peers. The procedure would be so ordered that a Bill would have to be brought in within a very reasonable time after the election of the new Parliament, and would therefore have to be a Bill clearly indicated by public opinion. Quinquennial Parliaments go with the scheme.

(2) It is a great anomaly that men who are not representative of, or accountable to, any but themselves, should have the power of obstructing the declared wishes of the nation as represented in the Commons. The anomalous character of this is further accentuated when it is borne in mind that the Lords sit in their House by hereditary right, and not by qualification. The essence of the British constitution is representative government, therefore the representative House of Parliament must in the long run prevail. The limitation of the veto would leave the House of Lords their main function—the power of delay; a reformed House of Lords would merely lead to the strengthening of the forces of reaction.

(3) The House of Lords always has to give way in the end, and each occasion on which this occurs tends to bring the Lords into greater contempt than before. The capacity of the House of Lords to render self-government futile and contemptible is not seriously diminished by the fear that when things come to push of pike it invariably yields. On the legislative machine a brake may be necessary, but a good brake acts with gentle and continuous pressure; it does not first clog the wheel and then yield with a snap.

(4) A House of Lords with a limited veto will not be reduced to the level of a debating society. An assembly in which Ministers sit and which has a right to raise debates and call for explanations on policy and acts of administration, an assembly that takes an equal part in Private Bill legislation, that by Select Committees can demand full information of the working of

to discharge its duties in a manner which will command the confidence of the people of this country? It is tinkering, and not statesmanship, to leave one House of Parliament which you admit yourselves to be unsatisfactory and, upon that pretext, deny it the powers of revision and reservation without which no Second Chamber can adequately do its work.

(2) It is necessary to have some body to check the impulsiveness of the Commons. A body of men like our present House of Lords, who have enjoyed the very best education the country can give, and have in many cases wide experience of political and social life at home and abroad, are better qualified to give a ripe judgment on any proposed change than the "carpet-baggers" who happen to have commended themselves to the electors, and who form such a large element in the present House of Commons. A Second Chamber always saying ditto to the First Chamber would be merely a fly upon the legislative wheel: it should act as the fly-wheel or governor of the legislative machine. (Some) We want a stronger House of Lords not a weaker. (See LORDS, HOUSE OF: REFORM OF.)

(3) The Upper House has always yielded to any really decided wish of the nation. The House does not claim to obstruct but to revise measures sent up by the Lower House; only in extraordinary cases does it ask the country to judge between the two Houses. The Home Rule Bill of 1893 is the only projected legislation of first-class importance which the House of Lords has definitely rejected. In all other cases its action has only been dilatory or revisory; it delayed the Jew Disabilities Bill (1833–1845), Parliamentary Oath (1847–1858), Church Rates Abolition (1858–1868), Paper Duties Repeal (1860–1861), University Tests Bill (1864–1872), and the Ballot Bill (1870–1871); whilst it amended the Labour Mines Bill (1842), Lands Clauses Consolidation (1845),

Government departments, that can introduce legislation, and postpone legislation, is no unimportant body.

(5) When the Conservatives are in power we have a single chamber Government. No Conservative Bill is ever rejected by the Lords: if it is amended it is only made more Tory than before. No important Liberal Bill is allowed to pass unless, as Lord Lansdowne so naively expressed it, "the ground is not a favourable one for their Lordships to join issue."

(6) The people have decided in favour of the Bill: it only remains to pass it. Unless the Bill is passed no scheme of reform which will satisfy the democratic demands of the present day could be passed; any proposed scheme is at the mercy of the Lords; the failure of the Conference in November, 1910, fully confirms this. The Parliament Bill is only a means to an end—an impartial Second Chamber affording equal opportunities to bills of both parties.

*Legacy and Succession Duties* (1853), *Married Women's Property* (1870), *Employers' Liability* (1880) and the *Parish Councils Bill* (1894). Of more recent legislation it is impossible yet to say that it has definitely rejected it; and it expressly did not reject the Budget of 1909 but referred it to the people.

(4) It would be a national disaster if a body containing so many of the finest intellects and coolest judgments in the country as does the House of Lords were reduced to the level of a rather superior debating society.

(5) As before a Conservative Bill is introduced it has probably been discussed in consultation with men who reflect the opinion of the House of Lords, and amended before introduction in accordance with their wishes, it is inevitable that more Liberal than Unionist measure should be rejected or amended; but Tory measures are often amended by the Upper Chamber.

(6) The majority in favour of the Bill is a log-rolling majority. Reform of the House, not limitation of its powers, is the desideratum, and the regulation of its relation to the Lower House by the introduction of the Referendum. England does not go back on her steps, and once the powers of the Second Chamber are taken away it is most unlikely they will ever be restored. The Preamble is a pious hope, and nothing more.

*See also PARLIAMENTS, SHORTER.*

## LORDS, HOUSE OF : REFORM OF

**Pro:** (1) As an institution, the House of Lords is an anachronism, and out of sympathy with the democratic spirit of the times. It is the only Chamber of the kind in Europe.

(2) While the House of Commons has been made more representative of the whole nation, the House of Lords has stood still; and thus the constitutions of the two Houses are entirely at variance.

(3) The attendance of Peers is notoriously very small; in fact, a

**Con:** (1) The House of Lords has grown up with and forms an integral portion of the British Constitution, and is consequently much more adapted to its purpose than any new Second Chamber could be.

(2) It is thoroughly representative of the wealth and culture of the nation, and represents that aspect of the national life more fully than the Commons. The House of Commons by no means always represents the will of the people; representation is not proportionate,

great many attend only to vote on party measures, or those affecting their private interests. It is desirable to relieve from their Parliamentary duties Peers to whom such work is irksome and ill suited, but to whom it has come inevitably by inheritance.

(4) The House of Lords has become a mere party instrument in the hands of one man (the leader of the Conservative Party); Liberal and Radical Bills are either summarily rejected or mutilated, while practically the same measures, if introduced by a Conservative Government, are passed almost without discussion. The 1900-6 Ministry showed that there is no legislation, no matter how reckless, no matter how contrary to tradition and to pledges, which the House of Lords will not accept from a Conservative House of Commons; whilst by its rejection between 1906 and 1909 of measures such as the Plural Voting Bill, the Education Bill, the Licensing Bill, the London Elections Bill and the Finance Act, 1909, it proved that it would not pass any measure introduced by a Radical Ministry, however clearly demanded by the people, if it conflicted with the personal interests of the members of the House. The Education Act, 1902, was admittedly partisan, yet the Lords passed it; and by-elections went just as strongly against the then Government after the introduction of the Licensing Bill, 1904 (which the Lords passed), as they did after the introduction of the Licensing Bill, 1908 (which the Lords threw out).

(5) The House, to be a real bulwark against the over-hastiness of the Commons, should be reconstituted on an elective basis. The Monarchy, though hereditary, divested of legislative power, and acting only upon the advice of the Ministry, is upon an entirely different footing. We do not object to the son inheriting his father's title, but we object to his making or unmaking our laws.

(6) The House of Lords is an irresponsible body: it should, like

and the majority may reflect an outburst of feeling of a very transient character. Financial ability to bear the burden of an election is often as essential to membership of the Lower House as birth is to membership of the Upper. A considerable number of the members are new creations, men who have shown exceptional ability in their several professions, and are recruited from the ranks of both parties, and these men exercise a distinct influence on its policy.

(3) The attendance of Peers is always very full when any important measure is to be discussed, which is more than can be said for the Commons, where the debates on many important subjects (e.g. Indian) have long been notorious for the small number of members taking part in them.

(4) The fact that the Lords delay Radical measures is an argument in their favour rather than otherwise; and Conservative Governments never propose very revolutionary changes. The gravamen of the charge against the Lords is their rejection of Liberal measures, not their ratification of Conservative measures. It is possible that they may have allowed some of the latter to become law which were not sanctioned by the will of the people, but there is no evidence that they have definitely rejected any Radical measures approved by the people. The wisdom of the Upper House in rejecting measures of this sort which would otherwise have become law, at the 1895 election met with a cordial expression of approval from the democracy. The Plural Voting, London Elections and Education Bills were all admittedly partisan. Two of them were bills dealing with electoral reform without including a scheme of Redistribution: Mr. Birrell in introducing the other said that "minorities must suffer." The by-elections clearly showed how far the Licensing Bill was from correctly interpreting the desires of the people.

(5) If the House of Lords were put on an elective basis, there



other Second Chambers, be a body responsible to the people in whose interests it is supposed to exist.

(7) It is possible to have a reformed Second Chamber which, whilst consisting entirely of men qualified to deal with a nation's affairs and responsible to the nation for its acts, should yet be free from party ties.

(8) There is no scheme of reform which would not leave the Second Chamber a highly Conservative body, while it would at the same time add greatly to its moral strength.

(9\*) The effect of extending the creation of life peerages, of giving a larger representation to the King's dominions beyond the seas, and of introducing representatives of religious bodies other than the Established Church, would undoubtedly be to add an element of real strength to the House.

(10\*) The numbers of the House within recent years have increased so largely that some reduction for legislative purposes is expedient.

would be constant deadlocks between the two Houses; whereas now the Peers are very careful to avoid conflicts with the Commons. It is not easy to see how a hereditary king can be defended if hereditary Peers are to be condemned. Nor is it very clear why a son should be allowed to inherit his father's property if it is inadmissible that he should be allowed to succeed to his father's title and office. Very few English institutions stand on logical foundations, and those that do so are not always the most successful. The members of the House of Lords grow up the inheritors of a great tradition, and in spite of some notorious individuals, the great mass of them may be trusted to discharge their public duties as uprightly and disinterestedly as they can.

(6) The so-called irresponsibility of the House of Lords is real responsibility of the weightiest kind. Their uncontrolled power is wielded all the more conscientiously because it is uncontrolled. The whole uncivilized world has taken pains in the constitution of its Second Chambers to make them as far removed from popular control as possible.

(7) The House of Lords is free from the severe party discipline that obtains in the Commons, and therefore is a necessary antidote to party tyranny. So long as the House of Lords remains feebly organized, feebly affected by party spirit, and continually supplied with a fair sprinkling of men of large interests, large experience, large general culture and great independence of character, it will fulfil with tolerable efficiency the main purpose for which it exists—namely, to defend the individual everywhere from the dominance of the passionate crowd, to preserve his rights to do the unpopular thing so long as it is not illegal, to defend him from laws fussily interfering with his liberty, and to keep for minorities that freedom of which the crowd and its despotic instrument, the Cabinet, would so willingly deprive them.



(8) By reforming and thus strengthening the House of Lords a risk is incurred of placing the forces of reaction in a position of greater advantage than that which they now occupy, and thus strengthening the forces of reaction.

(9†) Any of the suggested reforms of the House of Lords would mean that it would no longer be possible for the Crown to create a batch of new members if required by a national crisis to meet a deadlock between the two Houses.

## MAGISTRATES, STIPENDIARY

**Pro :** (1) The workman is worthy of his hire; and unpaid services are not often worth much, and are, moreover, sometimes interested. Under the present system, the unpaid Magistrate is dependent for his knowledge of the law on his clerk, who, however, gives his opinion without any responsibility: such division of knowledge and of responsibility is bad in principle.

(2) The country benches are often filled with landlords, whose great idea is to maintain the Game Laws at all cost, and whose sentences under those laws are disproportionately heavy. The lists of contrasted sentences that appear in *Truth* show how frequently the sentence of a Magistrate does not fit the crime.

(3) It would be better to have a professional man, who has had an education and knows his work, than a working man, appointed to counteract the class prejudices of the magisterial bench.

(4) A professional Magistrate would at least be as independent as a County Court Judge, and might do his work in the same way—by a circuit system. The number of suitors who flock to the County Courts shows that the judges are sufficiently competent.

**Con :** (1) The change would involve a great addition to the rates or the taxes, according as the expenses came out of the Imperial or local exchequers. The Magistrate is advised by his clerk, who, being a lawyer of experience, is able to keep him right on points of law, which the Magistrate is able to apply from the point of view of common sense, and with entire freedom from professional bias. No reform is required, as the present system works very well.

(2) The public always hears the bad side of the magisterial bench, never the good. So far from applying the Game Laws with undue severity, the Magistrates are most reluctant to put them in force; the poacher is very often a thoroughly bad character, whose offences against the Game Laws are only an incident in his life of crime. As long as the Game Laws exist, they must be enforced; and, being difficult to enforce, the penalty must naturally be severe. As a matter of fact, the Magistrates are no more arbitrary in their decisions than his Majesty's Judges.

(3) Any bias in the magisterial benches will be rectified gradually as the number of the working-men Justices increases.

(4) The Stipendiary Magistrate would not be indifferent to considerations of the same sort as the landlord, or independent of social influence.

## MARRIAGE LAWS, REFORM OF

**Pro :** (1) The custody of the wife's person should not be given to the husband. She should be a free agent, having authority equal to his. She often contributes as much to the support of the home as does the husband; besides which she bears the domestic labours.

(2) The exclusive control and guardianship of the children of the marriage, at any rate during their earlier years, should be vested in the mother, who is their natural protector.

(3) A wife's earnings should be her own absolutely; she should not be compelled to support an indigent husband.

(4) Women should not lose their maiden names in marriage. The Belgian system of joint names for married people might be advantageously adopted.

(5) There is no reason why, in cases of intestacy, a widower should inherit the whole property of his deceased wife, while a widow takes only a portion of the property of a deceased husband.

(6) The whole system by which the legal existence of the wife is, to a large extent, suspended during marriage, is based on an entirely false conception of the wife's relations to her husband.

**Con :** (1) Though the husband and wife are practically one, it is necessary that there should be one head of the family. The husband is necessarily the predominant partner, since he is, as a rule, though perhaps less often now than formerly, the bread - winner. The husband's legal control over his wife's movements is nowadays nominal rather than real. In the Jackson Habeas Corpus (1891) decision it was found that the husband could not confine the wife against her will in his house.

(2) The father is responsible to society and the State for the upbringing of the children, and their control is therefore properly vested in him. On good reason being shown that the father is not a proper guardian for the children, the Court of Chancery can transfer the custody to the mother (Taylor case, 1876-77), and the age of the child may be taken into account.

(3) It is right that a wife should be compelled to maintain an indigent husband, just as he in similar circumstances must support her.

(4) The husband may adopt his wife's maiden name if he pleases; nor would such a course be without precedent. The system of joint names, if universally adopted, would be decidedly troublesome: it is, however, sometimes advantageously adopted now (e.g. where the wife has earned a reputation).

(5) Modern life is patriarchal, and the family property is (where there is no testament) rightly the father's property.

(6) Marriage is a union, and it is right that for many purposes husband and wife should be regarded as one.

*See also* DIVORCE; DIVORCE FOR WOMEN; IN CAMERA PROCEEDINGS.

## MINISTERS HOLD DIRECTORSHIPS? SHOULD

**Pro :** (1) The holding of a directorship of a public company is quite a reputable occupation, and no case can be made for the abandonment of directorship, so long as other

**Con :** (1) The Liberal Party have adopted the principle of the incompatibility of a Minister of the Crown holding a directorship of a public company, and Mr. Gladstone

remunerative occupations are permitted to Ministers.

(2) It is desirable for Ministers to keep in touch with commercial affairs, and they can well do so by means of directorships. The argument that a Minister who was a director might become involved in undesirable transactions would apply equally well to a Minister who was a member of a private firm. In a business country it would be absurd to exclude all business men from the Ministry. To do so would be not to make public life purer but poorer, and to exclude competent men from the Ministry, and thus injure the interests of the country. The matter should be left to the honour and discretion of the individual.

## MINORITIES, RIGHTS OF

**Pro :** (1) All great movements owe their origin to a small body of men, or even a single man. The great mass of mankind has nearly always been in the wrong.

(2) The Government ought to represent all shades of opinion; and to effect this, care should be taken that influential minorities should receive an adequate share of representation. No majority has the right so to use its power that it shall become an instrument of oppression to the minority; there is no particular virtue in being one of the majority, nor crime in being one of the minority.

(3) Representative Government should approach as near to the ideal as possible.

insisted on the resignation of directorships on entry into his last Government. No man, consistently with the dignity of the public service, can act as a Minister of the Crown and at the same time be a paid servant of a trading company. He should give the whole of his working time to the State, and not place himself in a position in which there is any possibility of his public and private duties coming into conflict. Permanent civil servants are not permitted to hold directorships, although Ministers of the Crown may.

(2) Ministers of the Crown, when they hold directorships, cannot liberate themselves from the suspicion that arises from the conflict between the administration of their respective departments and their interests as company directors.

**Con :** (1) The opinion of the majority may not always be right; but its unanimous verdict is of considerable value, and affords a good enough working principle for a Government.

(2) The rights of the minority may be turned into a power to obstruct the will of the nation, rendering government impossible. The greatest safeguard of the minority is the right to turn their minority into a majority, a fact that tends to keep the majority from abusing its power or laying itself open to the charge of so doing. To require unanimity would be to hand rule over to the most obstinate Government, to be effectual, rests on the approval of the great mass of the governed.

(3) No perfect system of representation can be devised.

*See also* PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

## MONROE DOCTRINE

**Pro :** (1) The United States, as the most important power in America, is justified in claiming a sort of protectorate over all the other States of the two continents. To some ex-

**Con :** (1) If the United States wishes to exercise a protectorate over all the other American States, it should do so formally, and accept the consequential obligations as

tent their interests are hers, and any attack on them must affect unfavourably the United States.

(2) It is the policy of the United States to prevent any extension of European influence on the American Continents. The interference of the European Powers in American affairs must inevitably involve the United States in European disputes, which she has on the whole hitherto succeeded in avoiding. The possibility of being involved would compel an immediate increase in defensive preparations, and involve considerable expense, from which the United States is at present free.

(3) There can be no obligation upon the U.S.A. to enforce the payment of debts from which she has derived no benefit, and for which she is in no way responsible.

well as advantages. No European power can consent to suffer injury at the hands of an American republic, and when seeking for redress to be warned off by the United States. In such a case the United States should accept responsibility for the injury done by the power she protects.

(2) The inclusion of the whole of the American continents in the sphere of influence of the United States deprives the European Powers of unlimited fields of expansion for their surplus population at the expense of no existing Government. In South America there are thousands of square miles of virgin land, which cannot be occupied for centuries if colonization is only to come from America, while on the other hand the European populations are continually overflowing and seeking outlets. To debar them, except at the cost of their nationality, while offering them no settled government in return, from the fruitful provinces of South America, is playing the dog in the manger.

(3) The United States should induce all other American States to pay their just debts, and thereby prevent the intervention of European Powers.

## MUNICIPAL DWELLINGS FOR THE POOR

**Pro:** (1) Municipal authorities should set an example of what Dwellings of the Poor might be, by providing good, cheap houses, discouraging jerry-building, etc.

(2) The authorities would be as anxious to adopt improvements as private builders are.

(3) Municipal schemes for providing Dwellings for the Poor have been adopted with great success.

(4) The state of the slums in our great cities is a crying scandal, as well as a danger to health; if the authorities are to insist on proper sanitary precautions, they may just as well rebuild the houses. The authorities would be able to guard against overcrowding, and to insist on sufficient sanitary precautions.

(5) There is no reason why the

**Con:** (1) No public body can build as cheaply as private enterprise; moreover, Municipal Building would discourage not only builders, but also philanthropists.

(2) The tendency of public authorities is to stereotype particular plans, and to hinder improvements: competition avoids these evils.

(3) Municipal Building has so far proved very expensive, often costing double the amount of the original estimates.

(4) The unsatisfactory state of the slums will remedy itself in time, by more sanitary requirements being exacted.

(5) Unless tenements are let at cost price or less, they cannot possibly benefit the lowest class, for whom they are intended. It would

authorities should let the houses at a loss; at any rate, even if the dislodged class did not go to them, though they need be very little if at all higher in rent than the slum rents, it would be worth the expense if only to have cleared away the slums. The lowest class will probably only be reached by reflex action.

(6) The work is too large to be left altogether to private philanthropy.

merely mean that the dispossessed inhabitants would move on to the dwellings abandoned by the class above them, which they would soon reduce to the status of a slum, or go to swell the numbers in the few remaining slums.

(6) Private philanthropists have been able to do so much, and are likely to do so much more, that it is unnecessary for the State to interfere and throw further expenses on the swollen rates.

### MUNICIPAL TRADING: shall it be restrained?

**Pro:** (1) The tendency of municipalities, etc., to extend the sphere of their duties has grown so much in recent years, and shows a tendency to entrench on the sphere of the private trader in a way that threatens seriously to check the industrial development of the country. It is untrue that the cry against municipal trading comes only from would-be promoters of companies; if that were the case it would have met with no response. Numbers of disinterested clear-sighted people, who now see the danger which lies in Municipal Trading, cry for its restraint.

(2) The industrial development of the country, particularly the electrical industry, can be shown to have suffered from the tendency to set up municipal monopolies, increasing the cost of production.

(3) The Municipal Debt threatens to grow to the same proportions as the National, and this forms a serious menace to the financial stability of the nation.

(4) Local burdens have increased enormously in consequence of the tendency of local bodies so enormously to extend the sphere of their duties.

(5) No new sources of taxation are required, but, on the other hand, means for curbing excessive expenditure.

(6) So-called profits on municipal reproductive undertakings are too often obtained by the neglect to allow a rightful sum for depreciation of machinery, etc. Moreover, muni-

**Con:** (1) The cry against Municipal Trading has been artificially fostered by company promoters, anxious to exploit the means of communication and lighting, aided by large classes, whose interests as investors threaten to be curtailed by the determination of people to secure for the communities in question all increments of wealth caused by their own efforts, rather than to allow them to go into the pockets of a small privileged section of the community.

(2) The tendency to the formation of large industrial syndicates controlled by a few people is a far more dangerous monopoly than any municipality can form. The nature of municipal undertakings is naturally limited chiefly to enterprises which are in the nature of monopolies. The municipality does not enter the arena of competitive trade, but confines itself to the supply of such commodities as would in the hands of private companies still be monopolies.

(3) It is absurd to talk of Municipal Debt without considering the assets which it represents; one might as well call the capital of the London and North-Western Railway Co. debt. There is no comparison between the National Debt, spent on wars, etc., and Municipal Debt, spent on reproductive undertakings.

(4) Local burdens have increased not because of municipal trading, which can be shown with few exceptions to have been profitable; but in consequence of poor law bur-

icipal book-keeping is so often of so complicated a character that it is impossible to discover the true state of affairs.

(7) The number of employes, with their increasing tendency to use their votes to obtain special privileges for themselves, is a great source of corruption in local politics, and may lead to a "Tammany" government in many English towns. It is a grave question whether municipal employes should not be disfranchised.

(8) The primary duty of a local governing body is to govern and not to trade, and hence a municipality should not trade, except in those cases in which the public welfare manifestly demands it. Local bodies are the more efficient, *ceteris paribus*, the more they confine themselves to their legitimate functions, and do not overburden themselves.

(9) Municipal trading favours the growth of bureaucracy.

(10) Even in housing the authorities would do better to enforce sanitary laws than to embark on costly schemes. They should also encourage in every way the increased supply of houses by private effort. Municipal dwellings have so far proved extremely costly. (See MUNICIPAL DWELLINGS.)

(11) It is quite impossible that municipal councillors should acquire the requisite degree of skill, elected as they are for short periods, to manage such very complicated businesses.

dens, etc. Parliamentary Returns show that the only trading concerns which cause losses are cemeteries, baths and wash-houses, etc., which were never intended to be profitable, but are necessary. The average annual net profit made by Town Councils in water, gas, electricity supply, tramways, harbours and markets, is nearly £750,000.

(5) Fresh sources of taxation are required to enable the community to acquire for its own purposes at least some of that value which its labours are continually adding to the land.

(6) For the accusations so freely brought against municipal finance not a shadow of proof has been produced. Municipal accounts are all subject to stringent audit by the Local Government Board. Municipal Debts have sinking funds, and must be paid off within a limited number of years, which experience shows might in some cases at least be extended rather than curtailed.

(7) The remedy against all corruption is publicity. Nothing is more certain than that the rest of the rate-payers can prevent the municipal employes getting a privileged position, which, moreover, has hitherto in no instance occurred. A much greater danger exists of corruption of councillors from contractors on the look-out for good concessions. There is no reason why the workers in municipal works should be prevented from exercising their votes.

(8) The duty of a governing body is to undertake what it sees can best be done by it. The most inefficient governing bodies are often those which undertake least.

(9) Bureaucracy is no danger when property is controlled by a representative body.

(10) Municipal housing is the only effective means of enforcing sanitary legislation. Encouraging private enterprise means the endowment of the jerry builder. Private enterprise has hitherto had everything in its favour, and yet it has hopelessly failed to grapple with the housing problem.

(11) Municipalities do manage



big businesses with great success; naturally the technical details must be largely left to the expert salaried managers. On the other hand a company is often quite willing to take over and manage big undertakings in all parts of the country, and there is no apparent limit to the number of directorships certain men, prominent in the anti-municipal campaign, are willing to undertake.

*See also MUNICIPAL DWELLINGS.*

## OFFICIAL EXPENSES, PARLIAMENTARY : OUGHT, TO BE A LOCAL CHARGE ?

**Pro :** (1) Since the district chooses the Member, it ought to pay the cost of his election. The Member increasingly tends to become the delegate of the constituency that sends him to Parliament.

(2) In municipal elections the cost is paid out of the rates.

(3) Ratepayers and electors are almost identical; whereas many non-voters are taxpayers. Those who call the tune must pay the piper.

(4) Local payment of expenses would discourage unnecessary contests. If the ratepayers had to pay the cost of elections, they would be very careful to see how such costs were incurred.

**Con :** (1) The Member represents not only the interests of his own district, but also those of the nation at large.

(2) There is no analogy between municipal and Parliamentary elections; one is purely local, the other Imperial.

(3) Many ratepayers, especially women, peers, etc., are not electors.

(4) Local payment would be disastrous if it discouraged contests and Parliamentary elections, since it would check discussion on questions of the day, such as a general election always causes. Control by the Exchequer would defeat the ends of those who were interested in increasing the expenditure.

(5†) A by-election would involve a double charge to the constituency if charges were paid out of the rates, whereas if they were paid out of Imperial taxation the charge would be uniform.

## OLD-AGE PENSIONS

**Pro :** (1) The number of paupers in a country depends on the conditions of trade, rather than on the degree of strictness with which poor relief is granted; nor can we count too much on the experience of a few parishes which tried a more rigid method of poor relief, or argue that because rigour answered in a few cases it will be equally successful in all.

(2) One marked feature in the statistics of poor relief is the rela-

**Con :** (1) The number of paupers depends largely on the degree of strictness with which the poor law is administered. All the Unions in which a more rigorous administration was tried told the same tale; nor is it to be expected that where men find they do not benefit by thrift, that they will be thrifty.

(2) The stricter administration of the poor-law, by diminishing the number of able-bodied paupers, brings into greater prominence the

tively large number of aged assisted.

(3) A system of poor relief, which makes no attempt to distinguish between the deserving and the undeserving, is inadequate to meet the case of those who, through no fault of their own, find themselves, after a life of toil, without the means of subsistence in their old age.

(4) The earnings of the greater portion of the working classes do not suffice to enable them to save much towards their old age, while any saving that they can make is often at the expense of their own and of their children's health. Thus it is questionable whether such saving as is exhibited, for instance, by the French peasant proprietor is not deleterious to the vitality of the race.

(5) As a national policy, saving is ruinous, and saving on the part of all members of the community would, by checking consumption and increasing available capital, lead to general over-production and stagnation in all branches of industry.

(6) By being assured of a small pension, barely enough to maintain him, after seventy, and allowed to enjoy this concurrently with the interest of his savings, the poor man has every incentive to save, in order to secure extra comforts—a much more potent motive for saving against old age than the fear of starvation. Under the old system, however hard he might have toiled and saved all his life, if he applied for parochial relief, the authorities as a *sine qua non* demanded that he should give up his savings and he thus found himself no better off than the man who had never saved at all.

(7) If a poor man does save, it is extremely hard for him to know how to invest his money safely; nor has he any moneyed friends to advise him. Moreover, the number of friendly societies that become bankrupt cannot be ignored.

(8) State Pensions help the friendly societies, by relieving them of the need to provide for their older members, a very heavy charge, and one of the chief causes

number of the aged in receipt of relief.

(3) The poor law exists for the relief of destitution, not for the purpose of awarding praise or blame to a man for his past life; as a matter of fact, however, relief prior to the grant of Old Age Pensions was made as unpleasant as possible so as to deter persons from applying for it. Old Age Pensions themselves do not distinguish between the deserving aged and the undeserving.

(4) Almost every man is, at some time of his life, able to put aside money to provide against adversity, old age, and sickness. The savings of her peasantry enabled France to pay the huge war indemnity demanded by Germany after the Franco-German War (1870-1).

(5) The prosperity of a nation, just as much as the prosperity of the individual, depends upon thrift. An increase in the national capital means that the wealth of the country is employed in a reproductive expenditure instead of an unproductive waste.

(6) By doing away with the dreaded alternative of the workhouse or starvation which used to face the poor man, the State removed the great incentive to thrift. The poor man will not forego the gratification of present comforts for the sake of future comforts; but he would forego them for the sake of future needs.

(7) Members of friendly societies, etc., hardly ever sought parish relief; and while the money that a man has himself saved forms an inducement to him to save more, that acquired without effort makes him wish to get more in the same manner, but is not a sufficient impetus to urge him to save more.

(8) Old-Age Pensions will ruin the friendly societies; who will subscribe when he can get all he is likely to want gratis? The difficulties of the friendly societies have been due rather to the pressure of the sick than to the old-age fund.

(9) By promising a subsistence after a certain age, the State will diminish the number of the thrifty;

of the financial weakness of many.

(9) The friendly societies helped only those who are already inclined to thrift; they did nothing for those who were not.

(10) The problem of poverty is much easier of solution now that it is not mixed up with the problem of the aged.

(11) Old Age Pensions have not lowered wages, since they are not sufficient to tempt a man to relax his efforts to save.

(12) Although large numbers of the working classes earn larger wages, owing to the influence of Trade Unions, the strain is greater on their systems by virtue of the different conditions under which they work, and thus they are sooner worn out. The rules of most Unions being very strict against any relaxation of the minimum, employers often find themselves obliged to dismiss their older men, who, in consequence, find it very hard to get work at all.

(13) The aged worker is as entitled to a pension as the soldier or the civil servant, and any objection which applies to Old-Age Pensions, as regards the age limit, applies equally to deferred pay of all kinds.

(14) The system of outdoor relief possesses all the disadvantages without any of the advantages of a scheme of Old-Age Pensions.

(15) Under the present constitution of society it is almost inevitable that the thrifty should have to pay for the extravagant and the vicious, unless society is prepared to allow the latter to die of starvation; further, any measure directed against the idle must, under the present administration of the poor-law, also apply to a large extent to the unfortunate.

(16) It is better that the cost of the aged poor should be thrown on the nation, than that they should be absolutely dependent on their children.

(17) As it is impossible to discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving poor, it is better to give Pensions to all alike. Why should this demoralize the

in order that thrift shall be widespread, it is necessary that the unthrifty shall suffer.

(10) Why should the aged be rewarded in preference to the sick, the infirm, or the genuine unemployed?

(11) Old-Age Pensions must tend to lower wages, since a man in search of work, who felt that his old age was provided for, would be inclined to work at a lower rate than otherwise—in fact, would, under stress of competition, present the capitalist with the equivalent of his Pension.

(12) If the Trade Unions are responsible for the difficulty which the older men find in obtaining work, the Trade Unions should be asked to find the funds which will repair the injury they have done to their aged members.

(13) There is no analogy between an employé of the State in the army, navy, or civil service, part of whose pay is given to him in the form of a retiring Pension, and an ordinary working-man.

(14) Old-Age Pensions constitute a form of outdoor relief more pernicious than outdoor relief itself.

(15) It is not right that any scheme should deliberately throw on the thrifty and well-to-do the burden of maintaining the idle and extravagant. Not only is it unjust in principle, but it is a direct discouragement to thrift, and hampers the accumulation of that capital which is the means by which the country recovers from periods of depression.

(16) It always has been recognized as the duty of children to maintain their aged parents.

(17) An indiscriminate gift of money to all above a certain age is demoralizing to the nation. At the very least, Old Age Pensions should have been granted only upon a contributory basis.

poor any more than it demoralises a man to come into money?

*See also OUTDOOR RELIEF.*

## OPIUM TRADE IN THE EAST, SUPPRESSION OF THE

**Pro :** (1) Opium being at once a valuable drug and a poison, its use ought to be confined to purely medical purposes, as is the case in England; nor ought its sale to be countenanced by the Indian Government for any other purpose.

(2) It has been asserted by some of the most eminent medical men, European as well as native, that Opium is absolutely useless as a prophylactic against malarial fever: this is further accentuated by the admitted fact that those doctors who defend its qualifications in this respect do not use Opium for the purpose. It may further be remarked that in the very districts where malarial fever most abounds, the use of Opium is forbidden, while its consumption is often greatest where malarial fever is totally absent, and the climate most healthy. If the action of the drug is beneficent, why does the Indian Government put any obstacles in the way of a more extended use of it, i.e., by keeping the price so high? Why does it not rather allow the price to be lowered?

(3) The manner in which Opium has been forced on the Chinese Government is a disgrace to any professedly Christian Government or country. Though the professed object of the war may not have been to force Opium on China, yet the effect was the same; and there can be no reasonable doubt that the Indian Government tolerated smuggling when the importation of Opium was forbidden by the Chinese Government.

(4) Opium appears to have been introduced into China by the East India Company, there being no evidence of its previous use there.

(5) The use of Opium is not necessary to the Chinese; all their principal statesmen admit its evil effects, and would gladly prohibit its sale, were they certain that they

**Con :** (1) There is no evidence to show that Opium, taken in moderation, has any of the ill effects attributed to it; many of the evils noted are due to the state of health of the smoker, and have nothing to do with the Opium habit.

(2) Malarial fevers are not all of one kind; and, while it is almost certain that some kinds, varying largely according to locality, yield to Opium, others do not. Again, much of the evidence against the utility of Opium in cases of malarial fever is vitiated by the fact that the witnesses have been unable to distinguish between fevers which were, and those which were not, malarial.

(3) The importation of Opium was not the cause of the war with China.

(4) Opium was known in China long before the end of the fifteenth century, and was imported from India before any Europeans had arrived on the scene.

(5) There is every reason to believe that among large classes of the population of China Opium is an absolute necessity. If the Chinese Government wished, it has been able, at any period, to put a stop to this traffic; and the fact that it has not taken any steps, in spite of declarations of responsible British Ministers to that effect, proves the absence of all sincerity on the part of the Chinese officials when they declare their wish to suppress the trade.

(6) There is a strong analogy between the use of alcohol in England and that of Opium in the East. Each in its own way, while doing no positive harm, adds to the enjoyment of its consumers.

(7) Missionaries are rarely competent to distinguish between evils arising from the use of Opium and those which do not; moreover, a large number of missionaries have

would be allowed to do so by England.

(6) There is no analogy between the use of alcohol in England and that of Opium in India and China; for (1) the effects are entirely different: a man may recover from the alcoholic habit, but rarely does from the Opium habit, which steadily grows upon him; (2) in England the great majority of the inhabitants use alcohol to some extent; Opium is used by only a small proportion of the Indians or Chinese. But even if an analogy did exist, the prevalence of one vice in England would be no argument for propagating another vice abroad.

(7) The missionaries, who are among the few Europeans who really understand the Chinese and who speak the vernacular, unanimously condemn the use of Opium as in every way harmful to them. Similar testimony was given before the Commissioners by consuls, medical men, and English merchants. Many merchants in India and China have testified that it is not wise to trust a man who uses Opium to the same degree as one who does not.

(8) England might undertake to make up any deficiency in the Indian revenue caused by the abolition of the Opium Trade, in order to put an end to the immoral traffic with which her rule in the East is so closely connected.

(9) So far from the prohibition causing dissatisfaction among the native States, it would in many cases do the reverse; some of the native princes actually desire prohibition, but under the present régime it would be impossible for a single State to prohibit the growth of opium, so long as the Indian Government allows it to be grown on its own territory.

(10) There would be no need for the Indian Government to compensate the native growers; she has never recognized any right on the part of the growers to a licence, but has given or withheld a licence as seemed fit.

(11) The Indian Government has

refused to support the proposals of the anti-Opium party.

(8) England is not likely to undertake to make up the heavy deficiency which the loss of the Opium revenue would cause to Indian finance.

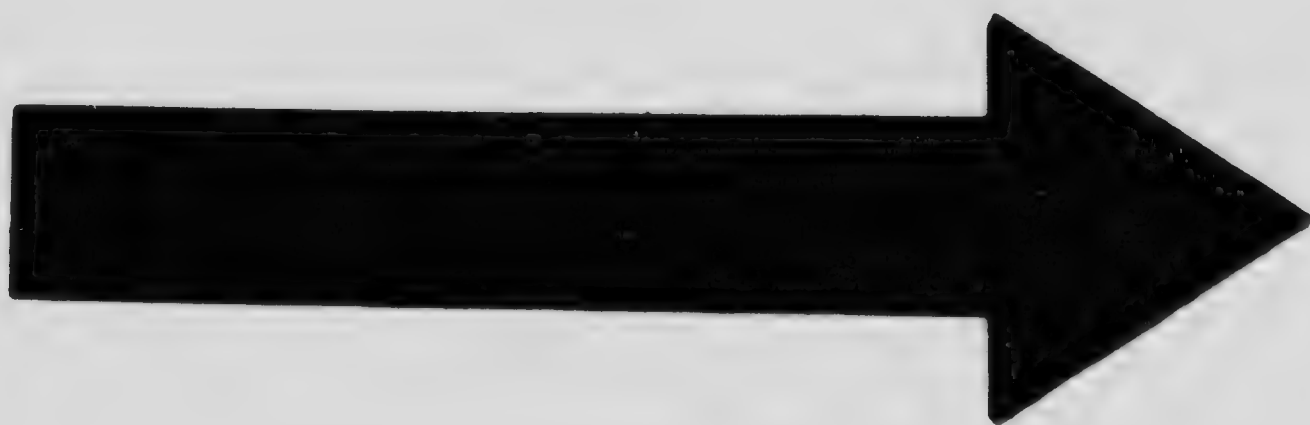
(9) There is much evidence to show that prohibition would create great dissatisfaction among large classes of Indians, who would consider that England was simply taking the step for her own benefit. Prohibition would make it very difficult for the native States to raise their own revenue.

(10) Compensation would have to be given in cases where men were deprived of their means of livelihood; the Home Government ought to meet this expense, and not force it on the impoverished Indian Government, even if it did not make good to the latter the loss of revenue.

(11) There is no evidence to prove that cultivators consider themselves bound to continue the cultivation of the poppy. The evidence, indeed, goes the other way; as a matter of fact, Opium, being by far the most remunerative crop, is eagerly taken up by the ryot in preference to any other.

(12) There is much evidence to show that the prohibition of Opium would lead to an increased consumption of alcohol, in itself a much more serious evil, in India; in fact, the native Commissioners on the Royal Commission, while expressing their fear that to prohibit Opium would have this effect, suggested that alcohol was already an evil in India which it would be well to check.

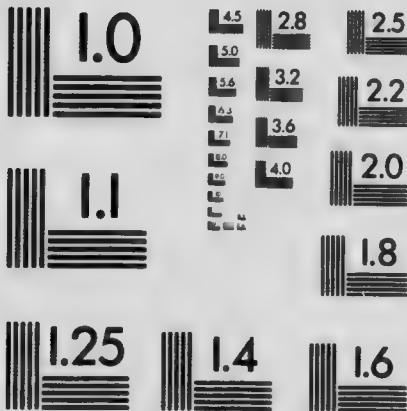
(13) The Opium Commission, a body made up of representatives of all parties interested, after a long inquiry, came to the all but unanimous conclusion that it would be unwise to interfere with the cultivation of the poppy or the sale of Opium. Among the Commissioners who signed this report, and who in the main agreed, were an Indian Prince and another native gentleman, neither of whom would be





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been obliged to raise the price paid on Opium, so as to induce the natives to grow it: this hardly looks as if they were so anxious to grow it or found it so remunerative as the Indian Government officials like to make out.

(12) It has never been proved that the abolition of one vice tends to the increase of another, or that the use of Opium keeps that of alcohol in check.

(13) The report of the Opium Commissioners was not unanimous: one member refused to sign, and two others, both natives, who did sign, made many important reservations; the report, too, ignored much of the evidence and garbled the rest, except where it made for a foregone conclusion. For example, the only witness from China quoted from among those examined in London was a man who did not appear in person, and who did not mention (nor is it mentioned in the report) that he had been a large importer of Opium, though, as a matter of fact, evidence had been given by consuls, medical men, missionaries, etc., on this very aspect of the Opium question. In short, the reports, drawn up by the Secretary, a member of the Indian Government, constitute a brief for the Indian Government, not an impartial statement of facts.

(14) The suppression of Opium smoking was recommended by both native members of the Commission, and its practice was universally condemned as degrading by all the members of the Commission; while it was said by the majority of those competent to speak, that little or no discontent would be caused by prohibiting the habit.

(15) The Indian Government ought not to be allowed to raise its revenue by encouraging an evil traffic.

likely to be hoodwinked by, or predisposed in favour of, the Indian Government, while the solitary exception was a man without any special knowledge of India or of medicine. Further, the Commission was, on its journey through India, accompanied by a representative of the Anti-Opium Society, who was there to see that his Society's views should be impressed on the Commission with sufficient clearness.

(14) Any measures intended to put down Opium smoking would have to be most inquisitorial, and, as such, would be deeply resented by all classes.

(15) The Indian Government undertook to control the Opium industry more with a view to secure the purity of the drug, than with any idea of raising revenue.

### OSBORNE JUDGMENT: should the Law be altered?

**Pro:** (1) It was never intended by the Trade Union Amendment Act of 1876 to exclude from the scope of the operations of Trade Unions functions so collateral or ancillary

**Con:** (1) In Australia, where a Labour Government is actually in power, it is illegal for a Trade Union to spend money for political purposes, and the decree of divorce between indus

to the general purpose of their existence as the regulation of the hours of labour and the improvement of industrial conditions by Parliamentary effort. It is one of their functions in other spheres to apply their funds for whatever purposes the majority of their members decide upon.

(2) Before being admitted, every member of a Trade Union has accepted a condition that he will conform to the rules and regulations of the society. After accepting such a condition he ought to abide by the decisions of his Trade Union in favour of Parliamentary representation if it is in accordance with the constitution. Any interference with individual liberty has depended upon the legitimately-obtained opinion of the majority of the members, who have decided that a certain policy was inseparable from the economic well-being of the whole of the workers. (See MINORITIES, RIGHTS OF.)

(3) The condition in the constitution of the Labour Party, whereby each member of the Labour Party is expected to carry out the policy as agreed upon from time to time at the annual conference of the party, is very little different from the unwritten constitution of the older parties, as it is seldom that a candidate is selected by an Association until he has definitely promised to loyally support the party policy. The rule of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants did nothing more than embody the ordinary meaning of political obligation.

(4) That cannot be called a tyranny which is sanctioned by the consent of a majority of the governed. One of the benefits conferred by Trade Unions is the representation of Labour members, which is only possible by co-operative action on the part of the working classes.

(5) Anything in the form of voluntary taxation meets with little support, for it is human nature to prefer to leave necessary disbursements if possible to others.

trial and political activity has been made absolute for years. It is there accepted (and quite rightly) as a natural and proper disqualification on the ground that the more a corporate body holds aloof from politics, the better both for it and political life.

(2) The Unions used to compel members to support financially politicians whom they felt bound to vote against at the ballot. So long as Trade Union members were returned by the funds of Trade Unions, (though it was illegal), no objection was taken, but when the Socialist party captured the organization, but not the members, of the Trade Unions, the Liberals and Unionists amongst the members rightly protested against being called upon to support the Socialists.

(3) The pledge given by members of the Labour party prevents them exercising their independent judgment. The agitation for the reversal of the Osborne decision amounts to compulsory substitution, by Labour members, of obedience for judgment, of delegation for representation, of the behests of an external committee for the interests of their constituents and of the country at large. It is the negation of Parliamentary freedom. The Labour party is differentiated from the older parties, because it pays its members £200 per annum.

(4) The old system was one of socialistic tyranny. A member had to either pay the compulsory levy or go. If he went he lost all the purely Trade Union benefits towards which he had subscribed (maybe) for years; and also in many cases, where the Trade Unions are strong, all opportunity of making a living at his own trade.

(5) The failure of the voluntary levy shows how little the so-called "benefits" secured by the compulsory levy were appreciated.

## OUTDOOR RELIEF, SHOULD, BE ENCOURAGED ?

**Pro :** (1) The fact that Outdoor Relief is open to abuse is no argument for its total abolition, but only for greater care in its administration; to refuse such relief is merely a confession of inability wisely to administer it.

(2) To be obliged to go into the workhouse almost inevitably pauperizes a person, rendering it impossible for him to rise out of the "slough of despond" into which he has fallen; while Outdoor Relief may enable him to pull through bad times, and set him on his feet again.

(3) Excessive rigour in the administration of the poor law is apt to lead to reaction in favour of a more indiscriminate method, in which prudence is cast to the winds.

(4) A distinction can and ought to be made between the deserving poor and the professional pauper; and to force them into the same company is to demoralize the former, and excuse the latter, in the eyes of the public.

(5) Indoor and Outdoor Relief are so interdependent, that the increase of one, instead of leading, as might be expected, to an increase in the total amount of poverty relieved, by reducing the other, leaves the total practically unaltered.

(6) The refusal of Outdoor Relief means the break-up of the home, a terrible ordeal for an old couple who have lived together happily for years, which should not be lightly inflicted in a society professedly resting on the basis of the family.

(7) A diminution of the numbers relieved affords no real test of the decrease of poverty; undue severity so far deters men and women from entering the workhouse, that sometimes they die from starvation rather than submit to the humiliation. These cases are as a rule deserving, and are just those for which the poor law is designed.

(8) Undue severity only drives poverty from one parish to another; it does not diminish it.

(9) The fact that a man, on accepting Indoor Relief, has to sacrifice all

**Con :** (1) Outdoor Relief is open to abuses which no care in administration can prevent, and the refusal to grant it is a sign rather of strength than of weakness in the Board.

(2) The workhouses now classify their inmates, so that it is not necessary for respectable people to associate with those whose manners and conversation are bad.

(3) The fact that rigorous administration of the poor law may cause a reaction is no argument against it; where a stringent administration has been tried, it has proved an unqualified success.

(4) It is impossible for the poor law authorities to make any distinction between deserving and undeserving cases. The distinction must be reserved for voluntary associations.

(5) That lax administration of Outdoor Relief leads to an increase in the number of applicants for Indoor Relief has been the opinion of all competent observers for many years.

(6) It would be a disastrous policy to allow paupers, who are living on the parish, to add to the population; aged couples are no longer parted, nor children divided from their parents in well-managed workhouses.

(7) It is inevitable that individual cases of hardship should arise under a strict system of poor relief; but the advantages of maintaining a consistent rule more than outweigh this evil. A large portion of the deaths from starvation occur among those who are actually in receipt of Outdoor Relief at the time.

(8) When a more strict administration of the poor-law obtains, it will deter people from going from one workhouse or one parish to another.

(9) It would be impossible to allow men to regard poor relief as a supplement to the amount they receive from friendly societies, etc., since it is a *sine qua non* of poor relief that the recipient of it should occupy a worse position under it

his earnings, *pro tanto* discourages thrift among the working classes; for among large classes of the community it is impossible that they should save during their short working life enough money to maintain them without aid in their old age.

(10) It is possible to combine Outdoor Relief with encouragement of thrift.

(11) Outdoor Relief, when given after careful investigation, tends to raise rather than to depress wages.

(12) "Once a pauper, always a pauper" is the general rule with Indoor Relief, which is thus much more costly and less effectual than Outdoor Relief.

(13) To saddle the relief of the worst cases of poverty and hardship on private charity, is to throw on a small section of the community what ought to be shared by all.

(14) The poor have in many cases themselves contributed largely to the rates, and relief ought therefore to be treated in some degree as insurance money which has already been paid.

(15) The problems relating to Poor Relief are not now the same as they were seventy years ago: we now have new problems to face, which we can satisfactorily do only by means of new and improved methods.

(16) Widows with children ought to be granted Outdoor Relief, and not be forced into the workhouse, so that the whole family may become paupers, and possibly criminals. Widows are often left badly off, their past circumstances having precluded their saving; nor is it right to leave them to depend on the charity of friends and relatives, while the fact of the guardians taking one, or at the most two, of their children is scarcely any help at all.

than the worst paid labourer not dependent on the rates. If the labourer could supplement his income in this way, he would merely put less money into the keeping of his friendly society.

(10) Outdoor Relief is the greatest obstacle to thrift extant; no man is likely to save if he can be just as well off without doing so.

(11) Outdoor Relief must always tend to lower wages, since it acts as a bounty, enabling the recipient to sell his labour more cheaply than others can who are unassisted.

(12) The granting of Outdoor Relief leads to Indoor Relief in almost all cases.

(13) Charity is much more effective than the poor law can be; it introduces a note of kindness and sympathy into its work in a manner which is impossible to a poor law official.

(14) Poor relief is not an insurance fund, it is a provision against destitution; the past payment of rates constitutes no real claim to it.

(15) The fact that the poor law, as amended seventy years ago, has wrought many improvements in the condition of society ought to encourage us in the belief that a continuation of the same policy will be even more successful in the future, and arouse a suspicion that a return to our previous policy would be disastrous.

(16) Nothing could be more disastrous than giving permanent Outdoor Relief to widows with families; such relief cannot suffice to keep them, but will necessitate an increase, which will be earned at starvation wages. The refusal of Outdoor Relief rarely forces widows into the workhouse; it induces relations to assist who, while they would do nothing to save them from receiving relief, will provide funds to keep them "out of the House." Children brought up in workhouse schools are much more free from the pauper taint than children whose parents are in receipt of Outdoor Relief, and who, being insufficiently fed, take to vagrancy as a matter of course. Widows are often much

better off than appears, nothing being harder to find out than the actual means they possess.

*See also OLD AGE PENSIONS.*

### PARLIAMENT, MEMBERS OF, SHOULD, BE DELEGATES INSTEAD OF REPRESENTATIVES?

**Pro :** (1) Theoretically every elector ought to vote by proxy on every question of government; the nearer the approach to this ideal, the more perfect is government likely to be. A Member, therefore, ought to represent his constituents in each vote he gives, and should accordingly consult them on every occasion where a vote is involved.

(2) Members of Parliament are frequently elected on some special point of general policy; and, if they are otherwise at liberty to vote as they please, their constituents may be misrepresented on all other questions.

(3) Constant appeals to constituencies would not be regarded as derogatory to the dignity of a Member, and, consequently, equally good men would offer themselves for election.

(4) Under the present system the House of Commons, so far as all matters other than those before the electors at the time of the election are concerned, is dominated by the opinions of a few, whose general views may be at variance with those of their constituent...

**Con :** (1) Members of Parliament are elected on broad issues only, and should therefore be left free in matters of detail, as it is impracticable for them to take the sense of their constituents on every point; even were this feasible the constituents would not be capable of forming correct opinions on most of the questions that would be put before them.

(2) Where new issues arise, it may chance that Members may misrepresent the majority of their constituents, but this cannot be avoided. Whilst the people are excellent judges of the right general policy for the country at any particular time, they are not competent to decide upon every measure which is before Parliament: the member whom they elect they place in the position of guide to them on matters of detail.

(3) No man of independent spirit would be likely to consent to act as the mere mouthpiece of his constituents on all questions alike. It would destroy all interest in a political career. Further, should a vital difference of opinion arise between a Member and his electors, no redress on behalf of either party would be possible, for by resigning the Member would *pro tem.* disfranchise his constituency, while, if he followed his instructions, he would vote against his conscience.

(4) It is a good thing that the House of Commons should consist of a body of men of superior wisdom and training, who can take a broad view of State policy, and withstand sudden outbursts of popular feeling.

### PARLIAMENTS, SHORTER

**Pro :** (1) There are no means whereby the nation may give voice to its opinions save at a General

**Con :** (1) By-elections give frequent occasions on which the people may express their opinions.



Election, and seven years is too long a period for the nation to remain voiceless.

(2) The Septennial Act gives the majority in the House of Commons absolute power of office for the term of seven years. Thus the people, during that term, cannot call the Government to book for broken promises, etc.

(3) The people ought to have a chance, before any new policy is adopted, particularly in foreign and colonial affairs, of expressing their opinions on the proposed change.

(4) In these days of steam and electricity, public opinion very frequently changes in view of a fuller knowledge and experience; thus, an increasing want of sympathy often arises between a constituency and its Member.

(5) The Septennial Act was passed to ensure the stability of the House of Hanover for at least the first few years of its life.

(6) Enormous changes in the *personnel* of an electorate take place every year; an opportunity of expressing their opinions should be given to new electors.

(7) Members who intend to resign are apt to be lax in their attendance; thus, the more frequently Parliaments are elected, and they have to meet their constituents, the more assiduous will they be in their attendance.

(8) A greater interest would be aroused in politics if General Elections were held more frequently.

(9) The certainty of an early appeal to the country would make the Government more careful, and the Opposition stronger.

(10) It would induce the House to pass measures as quickly as possible, consistent with efficiency; the best work of a Parliament is always done during the first period of its existence.

(11) More frequent elections would tend to lessen the reaction that sets in when a Government is felt to have outstayed its mandate; in any case, it would give our Government a better position in the eyes of foreign countries.

(2) No Government ever sits for more than five or six years; and, while theoretically irresponsible, no Government dare move or pass any measure in the teeth of violent opposition on the part of the electors.

(3) Every Government must have a certain latitude in dealing with, e.g., foreign affairs, as they arise; for it is impossible that the Government should render delicate matters public.

(4) Public opinion can make itself heard through public meetings, the press, etc., and the Government has every reason to keep in touch with the main body of the people.

(5) The Septennial Act was introduced to meet the state of restlessness the country was reduced to by too frequent appeals to the constituencies. It has worked well.

(6) It is probable that of the numbers who disappear from the electorate annually a large proportion reappear elsewhere. It is better, too, that a General Election should come in the natural course of events, and not be hurried on to meet the desire of new electors to exercise their powers.

(7) Shorter Parliaments would make Members less independent than they are even now. (*See PARLIAMENT, MEMBERS OF, SHOULD, BE DELEGATES?*)

(8) Very frequent elections would lessen public interest in them.

(9) Shorter Parliaments would weaken the independence of the Government, and thus constitute a serious danger to the policy of the nation.

(10) They would lead to the passing of hasty and ill-advised measures. A new Member takes some time to learn the work of the House; under the proposed measure he would no sooner have learnt this than he might be defeated.

(11) More frequent elections would keep politics in a constant flux, nor is there any reason to suppose that a Government resigning at the end of two or three years would fare any better at the hands of the electors than if it stayed on for five or six years, provided it re-

(12) If elections were more frequent, candidates would reduce their expenditure as much as possible.

(13) Shorter Parliaments decrease the number of by-elections, and the excitement caused by a General Election.

(14) The present system gives the Government a very great advantage over the Opposition, since it can always dissolve at the moment which is most convenient to it.

(15) In no other country is Parliament elected for so long a period as in England, and our own municipal elections are for three years only.

tained its Parliamentary majority. Thus it is not probable that foreign politics would gain any increased stability from the measure. Constituencies would be no more faithful to a three-year than a six-year Member; whilst the latter has a longer time in which to accomplish something.

(12) Frequent elections would enormously increase the expenses of candidates.

(13) The country would be kept in a perpetual state of turmoil.

(14) There is no adequate reason for the change. The uncertainty of dissolution under the present system is a distinct benefit, since it enables Ministers to choose a moment to dissolve when it can be done with the least dislocation of the trade of the country.

(15) Governments never abuse the powers which the right to dissolve at pleasure gives them; the number of Governments which are turned out on appeal to the country prove this.

*See also* REFERENDUM; LORDS, HOUSE OF; LIMITATION OF VETO.

## PARTY GOVERNMENT

**Pro :** (1) Party Government has always been the rule, and has been a conspicuous success. If the theory of complete unreality of a polity continually arranged between virtually identical groups of gamesters were true, we should be governed not by alternate Tory and Liberal administrations, but by a permanent coalition of bureaucrats. None of the present leading Liberal statesmen, except Mr. Churchill, belongs to a ruling family.

(2) Party Government is almost inevitable; on almost every political question two attitudes are possible; and it is natural that those who have a large number of beliefs in common should agree to ignore minor differences, and combine to work for their common ends.

(3) Criticism and opposition are necessary to keep Government up to the mark; and Party Government imposes a certain responsibility on the Opposition, since they

**Con :** (1) Party Government has put the government of this country into the hands of a small oligarchy composed of the leaders on both sides, who, with a few exceptions, are chosen from a comparatively small circle of wealthy families, who, after consultation with each other, determine the policy of the country.

(2) On many questions there is only one possible "side"; yet Party Government, by creating a body whose duty it is to oppose all measure emanating from the Government of the day, has created an utterly false atmosphere in politics, obscuring the fact that unless both sides are wrong (which not infrequently happens), one side must be right. The evil influence of the party system permeates the whole political atmosphere of the country, outside the House as well as inside. Party Government leads to an even worse abuse when it induces supporters of various measures to

know that they will have later on to face the same difficulties themselves.

(4) The system secures the thorough discussion of all questions of public importance. If the hypothesis of a disappearance of parliamentary control were valid, the group system would not have arisen. So long as the group system develops, Parliament will be able to resist the encroachments of the Executive. The Executive, in its turn, suffers from the growing advance of its expert advisers.

(5) The fact that there are two great predominant parties in the English House of Commons prevents that Chamber from becoming, like many foreign parliaments, a mere collection of heterogeneous groups, whose sole bond of union often lies in mere opposition to the Government, with the result that firm government is impossible. The group system is a synonym for unstable Cabinets, intolerable intrigue and discreditable scenes.

(6) The party system need not depend upon the organized use of the wealth contributed by men in search of peerages. Neither the Labour Party nor the Nationalist party are able to hold out the promise of these favours to come, and there is no reason in the nature of things why the two great parties should continue to do so.

(7) The party system does not entail any dishonesty on the members of the parties. All the members of a party are agreed upon the general policy of their own leaders, and they frequently avail themselves of the opportunity of criticism in detail of measures introduced by them. Abstentions are by no means uncommon.

secure votes by voting for measures of which they themselves do not approve; every measure ought to be treated on its own merits.

(3) Criticism is valuable; but opposition for form's sake is fruitless, and converts Parliamentary Government into little less than a farce. It employs the energies of some of our best statesmen in obstructing instead of in aiding the Government.

(4) The Party System does not even secure the thorough discussion of a question, nor is it probable that any speech, however great or convincing, would affect more than two or three votes. As long as the Government has a majority, its members and supporters are obliged to vote for it, even when they know they are in the wrong, while closure has really reduced debate in the House of Commons to a farce.

(5) The present system stifles all independence of thought on the part of private members, and is turning the House of Commons into a mere reflex of the Government of the day. The party system is open to the same charges as the group system: which obtains in every foreign Parliament in Europe. The charges levelled against it are prompted by its occasional failure in two or three of them only, in countries where there is no warm attachment to the principle of constitutional tradition. It ensures a far more living sense of personal responsibility for individual action in each member of the group: and it facilitates *bond fide* discussion of measures in detail when such measures are submitted by the representative chamber to the Committee upon which each group is proportionately represented.

(6) The party system depends on the secret contributions of wealthy men, some of which are presently minted in peerages and "honours": this tends to confuse and depreciate the public standard of honour.

(7) It is dishonest: times have changed since the days when a man could conscientiously declare: "I can truly subscribe to every article

in the Whig or Tory creed." The advent of Home Rule broke up the beautiful symmetry of the party system. The most upright man in politics becomes, sooner or later, tainted by its blight.

### PASSIVE RESISTANCE

**Pro :** (1) The Education Act is so unjust to Nonconformists that it is their bounden duty to make a practical protest against its administration.

(2) Nonconformists should never consent to subsidize the teaching of a religion with which they are out of sympathy and should cheerfully undergo privations of property or person rather than take part in the endowment of what is by them considered error.

(3) Passive Resistance, if resolutely and determinedly continued, must result in the amendment of the Act in the direction advocated by the Resisters. The only way in which the legislature in this country can be forced into remedying injustice done to a minority is by violent measures which call the attention of the public to the state of affairs.

(4) So far from the Passive Resisters being mere cranks, they include distinguished and honoured members of all ranks, and for the most part represent a class which is the strength of the country.

**Con :** (1) The Education Act having obtained Parliamentary sanction, it is the duty of all loyally to accept it and to co-operate in its working. The correct attitude of those who are conscientiously opposed to any of its provisions, is to labour for its amendment by Parliament, not to attempt illegally to prevent its working.

(2) If Passive Resistance is justifiable on the part of opponents of the Education Act, similar action might also be taken by the opponents of any other measure. Citizens who object to free public libraries might refuse to pay the portion of their rates devoted to the maintenance of such. Moreover, before the adoption of the recent legislation, those who objected to the teaching of the so-called non-sectarian Christianity, such as Jews, Catholics and Atheists, might also have refused to have paid their education rates.

(3) It is to be hoped that Passive Resistance will not prove successful. It would encourage the idea that any enactment which is onerous will be removed from the Statute Book if its opponents firmly adopt a recalcitrant attitude. That would be to foster bad citizenship.

(4) Passive Resistance is not a genuine, spontaneous movement, but a political agitation working through "cranks with a passion for martyrdom."

*See also* EDUCATION ACTS.

### PAUPER CHILDREN, BOARDING OUT OF

**Pro :** (1) The family is a divine institution: therefore to place a child in a family is to bring it up in God's own way.

(2) By being placed in a family, a child secures a father, mother, and perhaps brothers and sisters.

(3) The child learns how to make

**Con :** (1) The true family is a divine institution; but no one contends that there is anything divine about foster mothers. Whether or not a child is brought up in "God's own way" depends entirely upon the character of the people under whose care it is placed.

itself useful; and, where there are younger children in the family, its stunted affections get developed.

(4) The child has the advantage of moral and religious training, which it sees applied to the concerns of every-day life. The child learns how to take care of itself, and gets some idea of the value of money, etc.

(5) The system fits girls for domestic service by the work they perform in the cottage, and gives boys some knowledge of agricultural work. Girls gain a knowledge of cottage life, which will fit them for such a life when married.

(6) The Boarding-out System takes away the children from the evils of a workhouse, and frees them from the pauper taint.

(7) It is cheaper than any other system.

(8) Boarding-out has been most successful, to judge by the small number who return to the workhouse; experience shows this to have been the case in all countries where the system has been tried.

(9) The children are too closely under supervision for abuses to occur.

(10) Situations and employment are found for the children by a Boarding-out Committee, or by the foster parents, without any trouble to the Guardians.

(11) The abuses reported by the Local Government Board have all taken place outside the Union; Boarding-out within the control of the Union and under the Guardians' eyes is likely to be more successful.

(12) Boarded-out pauper children turn out better than pauper children brought up under other systems.

(13) Foster parents take them from their love of children, or the wish to do good; and become so deeply attached to them, that they cannot bear to part with them.

(14) The advantages of Boarding-out are, in themselves, doubtful to the working classes. Deserting parents have been frequently known to claim their children when they have found it likely that they would

(2) Foster children are often ill-treated and neglected. Parents naturally prefer their own children to those of strangers, and rarely treat them alike.

(3) Foster children are usually the drudges of the family; such treatment is not likely to call out any of their higher qualities.

(4) The quality of the moral and religious teaching given depends upon the character of the home.

(5) Work in a cottage is no efficient training for work in a larger house, nor will cottagers give time to boarders when their own children require to be trained, nor are they often capable of systematic training. In the present state of agriculture, knowledge in this direction is of small use; it is impossible to find employment for more workers on the land.

(6) The surroundings of a workhouse may be better than those of a cottage, especially if the cottager be in receipt of outdoor relief; nor is it possible in a village that the child's circumstances should not be known.

(7) The cheapness of the system is no argument in its favour; the best system is always the cheapest in the end.

(8) There are no complete statistics whereby to estimate the success of the system. Those published have been prepared either by those interested in the success of the scheme, or by those responsible for its administration.

(9) The supervision is too intermittent to prevent abuses.

(10) Even where a Committee of ladies exists, they do not always find employment, especially for boys; and where no Committee exists, it depends on the Guardians.

(11) Inspection must be made by experts to be efficient: this now only occurs in the case of those boarded-out beyond the Union. Were expert inspection extended to those boarded-out within the Union, as many cases of ill-treatment would probably be discovered as in the case of those boarded-out beyond the Union.

be boarded-out beyond their own reach.

(15\*) The system provides a home to which boys and girls can return when out of place after ceasing to be chargeable.

(12) The Boarding-out System gets undue credit; only the pick of the children are boarded-out, and the Guardians are bound to take back from the Boarding-out Committee all those with whom the Committee cannot deal, on account of bad health, habits, or conduct; thus the workhouse becomes responsible for the failures of the Boarding-out System as well as its own.

(13) Foster parents take children to profit by them, and are more attached to the payments than to the children.

(14) The system induces parents to desert their children, that they may be otherwise provided for.

### PAYMENT OF MEMBERS AND RETURNING OFFICER'S EXPENSES

**Pro :** (1) Every increase in facilities for voting means an additional fine on the candidates for election. The Legislature has already admitted the justice of placing election charges on the local funds in the case of non-Parliamentary elections.

(2) In order that the House should be truly representative of the nation, members of all classes—no matter what their financial resources might be—should be enabled, if elected, to be free to attend to the nation's affairs.

(3) In order to get the best work, the nation must pay for the whole time of the best men. The duties of Parliament are growing so exigent that it is becoming more and more difficult for a man properly to attend to his Parliamentary duties and earn his living at the same time.

(4) Practically, every other country possessing constitutional government pays salaries to its representatives, and even makes travelling and rent allowances to them. In France Senators and Deputies receive 15,000 francs a year each; and in Canada members of the House of Commons receive allowances of 2,500 dollars for each session. In other foreign countries and colonies also members are paid.

(5) Members of Parliament should

**Con :** (1) In the House of Commons, as at present constituted, all classes are fairly well represented, without the considerable cost to the taxpayers that the adoption of the proposal would effect. So long as there are plenty of capable men willing to serve their country under existing conditions, no alteration in the law is necessary.

(2) Payment of Members would create a class of professional politicians, with very unsatisfactory results in lowering the standard of members and opening loopholes for corruption and other malpractices. Moreover, it would withdraw Members from other occupations, knowledge of which considerably increases their usefulness in the House, and in the event of defeat in contests subsequent to their first election, would leave them without employment.

(3) Some of the best public work done for this country is performed gratuitously by the leisured class; and the influence possessed by the House of Commons is enormously enhanced by the fact that men do not enter it for gain, but make some financial sacrifice to do so.

(4) The tone of the British House of Commons is superior to that of every other Parliament, largely



be, like Ministers, not only the representatives, but also the servants of the nation. Ministers are paid, in spite of the fact that the services of equally good (or the same) men could easily be obtained for these posts without remuneration; moreover, pensions are paid to ex-Ministers on application, though they do no more work for them than private members do: no stigma attaches to them on this score, nor would it to paid Members.

(6) Membership of Parliament differs from that of local authorities, inasmuch as in most instances it means an absence from home for six months in the year.

(7) The non-payment of Members of Parliament is felt especially in the case of working-men candidates, and while a few rich unions are able to pay their own representatives' expenses, this does not hold good for the great mass of unorganized labour, which is consequently unrepresented, save in the persons of capitalists, lawyers, and others. Unless the Osborne Judgment is reversed organized Labour will no longer be able to support its Labour candidates, who are thus threatened with almost total extinction. (See OSBORNE JUDGMENT.)

(8) The constituencies may be trusted to choose the best Members, whether paid or unpaid. Further, Members would not be under the same temptation to become "guinea-pigs" for limited companies, etc.

(9) Some of the most independent Members have been men who depended on their constituents for their means of livelihood.

(10) The expenditure involved in Payment of Members would not be heavy.

(11) The candidate has no check over the sum demanded of him for official election expenses, and often has to pay for what he himself never sanctioned: this would be impossible were the charges met out of the public purse.

(12) By making the Member pay the official expenses of his election the State is imposing a property qualification, thus debarring men

because the Members are unpaid. It is true that many get elected because membership is indirectly remunerative; but in so far as this is so it tends to lower the tone of the House.

(5) Ministers must give their whole time; Members give only their hours of leisure.

(6) If payment of Members of Parliament were granted, demands would immediately follow for similar treatment of members of County Council, Borough Councils, etc.

(7) The number of working-men Members is increasing in the House, in spite of their difficulties. Constituencies where unorganized Labour predominates have found means of providing funds for a Labour Member when they wanted one.

(8) The salary would not be large enough to keep a man in luxury, hence he would be as much tempted as now to supplement it by becoming a "guinea-pig," or otherwise lending his name to financial schemes.

(9) Payment would, with the majority of Members, tend to impair the independence of their judgment.

(10) It would be to saddle the community with an additional annual expenditure of £250,000, allowing a salary of £400 per member, and a smaller sum for the expenses of the returning officers, an expense which would not of course be incurred every year. In the English counties in 1906 the returning officers' charges amounted on an average to nearly £280 for each candidate.

(11) The official expenses are very light; no serious candidate has been prevented from standing by them. The charges are fixed by Act of Parliament, so that they cannot be very high.

(12) Payment of official expenses would encourage frivolous candidates; and second ballots would only aggravate the evil, while a system of deposits would amount to a property qualification.

(13) It is only common sense

from the House on the score of poverty, a special hardship on Labour candidates.

(13) The returning officers' charges are at present paid either by individuals or out of the funds of political parties. In the one case the candidate must be a man of wealth; in the other the power of riches is equally felt, because party funds are replenished by the gifts of financial magnates who aspire to a peerage or a baronetcy. The member whose election expenses are paid out of the party funds may easily become a mere delegate, and there is a real danger of national interests being subordinated to party interests.

(14) This reform is not a constitutional innovation, because it is only within comparatively recent times that members of the English Parliament have not been paid.

(15) The payment of the official expenses out of the public purse would not remove the disabilities of a poor man, for, if selected, the costs of maintaining himself as a Member form his main difficulty.

(16\*) That constituencies may secure as wide a choice of candidates as possible, it is desirable that no man should be deterred from standing for mere lack of means.

*See also OFFICIAL EXPENSES.*

### PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP

**Pro :** (1) Peasant Proprietorship encourages the growth of a sturdy, independent, and thrifty class of men, who are in every sense the backbone of a nation, and to whom, more than to any one else, France owes it that she has been able to overcome the misfortunes of the Franco-German war.

(2) Peasant Proprietors have, in many instances, by means of co-operation, been able to amass sufficient capital to carry out works of irrigation, etc., undertakings supposed, on financial grounds, to be quite beyond their power.

(3) The cultivation of small Peasant Properties has been carried to a great degree of perfection, and has in some cases made land, originally unfruitful, valuable,

that a candidate should bear the expenses of his own election.

(14) The change would entirely alter the principles of constitutional government in this country.

(15) The right way to remove the disabilities of the poor man is payment of his official expenses: further one should not go.

(16†) Payment of Members would encourage a new form of bribery, by enabling a rich man to pay back his salary in subscriptions to charities within his constituency, etc.

**Con :** (1) Peasant Proprietorship establishes a class of men who, not having enough land to keep them in comfort, are miserable. Generally in the hands of the money-lenders and without capital, their land is starved and improvements are impossible, interminable labour on the part of themselves and their families hardly enables them to live, and being shut out from all prospects of anything better, they grow up with an utterly sordid view of life.

(2) What a few intelligent Peasant Proprietors may have been able to do by means of co-operation affords no sufficient evidence to enable us to decide that the same arrangement would be possible among a people less used to habits of

(4) There is a "magic of ownership" which works in such a way that a man always gets the best out of his own land.

(5) The experience of most European countries, especially Germany, points to the creation of Peasant Properties as the surest method of keeping the labourers on the soil, thus helping to solve the social question. The presence of such a large body of conservative opinion must strengthen the hands of those who are upholding law and order as opposed to revolutionary changes.

(6) The establishment of land banks would enable Peasant Proprietors to obtain credit, while leaving them independent of covenants. (See AGRICULTURAL BANKS.)

(7) It may be questioned whether the English resident landlord really has the refining influence attributed to him; for is not the Peasant Proprietor in France, Switzerland, or Germany vastly superior to the English labourer?

(8) The evils of subdivision are grossly exaggerated. Except in certain parts of Germany, they are non-existent, and even in those parts the evil is not very great. So far from the system tending to small families, in Germany the opposite effect has been observed.

(9) The creation of a Peasant Proprietorship would undoubtedly tend to increase home consumption, as opposed to the consumption of imported goods.

(10) The standard of living among Peasant Proprietors is unquestionably higher than that of our rustics: they put all profits into their own pockets, while the English rustic gains nothing. The establishment of adequate small holdings puts a second string into a labourer's bow, an alternative to wage-service, and is therefore a most important means of the raising of rural wages.

(11) There is no reason to suppose that a system which has been introduced into Ireland with a success which even its most ardent supporters dared not expect, should prove a failure or impossible of introduction in England, where the soil

mutual help. At any rate, the English system of big farms enables the tenant to devote his money entirely to agricultural purposes, such expenses as purchase money, cost of permanent improvements, etc., all falling on the landlord.

(3) The English and Scotch farming systems have done more than any other to introduce scientific methods into agriculture.

(4) There is indeed a "magic of ownership," but it should be applied to a man's improvements, not to the land itself.

(5) France and other countries show that rural depopulation continues in spite of Peasant Proprietorship; it is caused by a longing on the part of the people, for a wider, freer, and fuller life than the country can afford, rather than by a sense of the injustice of the land system. The political effect of a Peasant Proprietary would be to create a large body of men opposed to all reform.

(6) Agriculture is notoriously uncertain—being largely dependent on the weather—and credit cannot be granted on the same terms as are possible with other businesses. (See AGRICULTURAL BANKS.)

(7) The presence of the landlord has unquestionably a refining influence on a district, as may be seen by observing an estate where the hall is shut up. For the richer classes to be brought into closer contact with their poorer neighbours helps to keep up social ties and to promote good feeling.

(8) Subdivision has been a great source of evil in France, which is now overcome by resorting to means which are even worse in their effects on the nation, viz., the voluntary limitation of the family.

(9) A Peasant Proprietorship would be able to bring a strong influence to bear in favour of protection and a dear loaf in antagonism to the interests of the town workers, on whom England's prosperity depends.

(10) The standard of living among Peasant Proprietors is very low, and is in no whit remedied by the fact

is more fertile and the inhabitants are temperamentally more fitted to co-operate.

that the savings are their own; they generally go to the usurer.

(11) It would be almost impossible to introduce the system into Great Britain, where the existing system works very well, and has proved that it is adapted to the wants of the people. There are two outstanding particulars in which Ireland differs entirely from England—small holders were already on the land in Ireland, and all holders, small and large, effected their own improvements, and were recognized as proprietors thereof when purchase operations commenced.

### PLURAL VOTING, ABOLITION OF

**Pro :** (1) Plural Voting on the part of one man is inconsistent with the principles of democratic government.

(2) Parliament ought to represent men, not property or localities.

(3) All members of the community have an equal right to be heard on questions of government. The poor man has in reality a greater interest in the good government of the country than the rich; bad legislation may partially depreciate the property of the one, but may reduce the other to absolute penury. To be logical the supporters of Plural Voting ought to contend that the number of votes should be in proportion to the income-tax paid.

(4) The principle of One Man One Vote would greatly simplify the register of voters, and would be no harder to carry out than in the case of a man who has numerous plots of scattered property in the same electoral division. Each man would be asked if he possessed a vote in any other constituency, and in which constituency he meant to exercise his right, while strict penalties would be attached to any attempt at deceit.

(5) The change advocated would lead to the abolition of the University Vote, which is not, as is contended, used in the interests of

**Con :** (1) It is quite possible to apply a general principle, like that of Democracy, in too detailed a manner.

(2) Parliament should represent all classes in the community fairly, and it is only right that if a man has interests in several places he should have a vote for each. Voters who have interests in different parts of the Kingdom have a broader view of national wants than those who look at them from the point of view of one locality.

(3) A rich man has a larger stake in the government of the country than a poor man. A man who has shown his capacity to manage a large property is *ipso facto* better fitted to share in the government of the country than a man who has not.

(4) It would make registration a much more difficult operation, by introducing disturbing factors, such as a resident in London coming into possession of a small farm in Cornwall or taking a place in the country. It would entail correspondence between the various authorities to see that the same man had not declared his intention to vote in several constituencies.

(5) The abolition of the University Vote would deprive learning and culture, as such, of all voice in the management of the affairs of the

learning, but used for a strictly party purpose.

(6) It would not destroy any man's electoral qualifications, but take away unjust privileges. Because a man owns property in two different places, it does not follow he is necessarily cultured.

(7) The adoption of Simultaneous Elections (*see* ELECTIONS, SIMULTANEOUS) would not avoid this, since the abuse is most aggravated in London constituencies.

(8\*) The present system is not even based on the amount of property held, but simply on its situation—whether it happens to be in one place or scattered over several constituencies.

(9) Plural Voting frequently allows residents to be out-voted by non-residents, and thus tends to make the former apathetic in the discharge of their municipal and national duties. At the 1910 elections about thirty seats were decided by the Plural Vote.

(10\*) It has led to many evils, such as the creation of faggot votes, the purchase of votes (often made in the case of those attached to the City Livery Companies), etc.

(11\*) Plural Voting is not allowed in the County Council or Town Council elections.

(12\*) If the Referendum were introduced, it is agreed that it would be on a basis of one man one vote. This shows that the present system is not in accordance with present-day views.

## POPULATION, A LIMITED

**Pro:** (1) Men, animals, and plants all tend to multiply far beyond their actual requirements; and any one species, if it were to increase unchecked, would soon cover the earth with its own kind, to the exclusion of every other.

(2) Even if "Survival of the Fittest," brought about by this tendency of population, has hitherto resulted in the progress of mankind, it does not necessarily follow that this will always be the case; civilization has been throughout a pro-

nation, or in looking after their University interests.

(6) By reducing the cultured few to the level of the ignorant masses, the change advocated would practically destroy the influence of culture. The University seats, which more than any others represent culture, would all disappear.

(7) Simultaneous Elections would do all that is required to abolish any grievance in respect of Plural Voting.

(8†) One vote one value, which is the basis on which the argument for one man one vote rests, remains an unreality so long as a majority of one or two is treated as equal to a majority of 2,000.

(9) The question of Plural Voting is absolutely insignificant, since the number of Plural Voters is very small, and of those a large proportion never use their privilege.

(10†) It is absurd to abolish Plural Voting except as part and parcel of a general measure of electoral reform, e.g. in a Redistribution Bill.

**Con:** (1) No species has ever succeeded, or is ever likely to succeed, in monopolizing the whole earth; what is true of animals and plants is probably also true of mankind.

(2) Society must be governed by the laws of social welfare; since the progress of the race has, under Natural Selection, hitherto been satisfactory, it would be folly to seek to interfere with it.

(3) Competition is the best means for developing what is good in men.

test against the ruder methods of nature, and Natural Selection itself is wholly altered when it becomes a conscious process. The phrase "Survival of the Fittest" itself requires definition.

(3) Competition does not produce the highest type of men, or the cleverest, but rather the most selfish and shrewd.

(4) A high birth-rate is always accompanied by a high death-rate; where parents have not enough money to give their children sufficient food, the children will not be healthy. Overcrowding is one of the chief causes of mortality, in addition to lowering the general standard. We want quality, not quantity. It is the landlord's plain duty to afford his tenant room for a family, but it is no less the tenant's duty to adjust his family to the room.

(5) Increase of capital is a different thing from increase in the means of subsistence.

(6) Emigration is a palliative, not a remedy; for, though large portions of the earth are still uninhabited, many are uninhabitable; the few remaining must soon be occupied at the present rate.

(7) So long as we leave it to nature (e.g. pestilence) to correct surplus population, so long shall we be exposing ourselves to social misery. Limitation of the population is the only way to get at the root of the social evil—prostitution and crime. Unless the supply of workers bears a fair proportion to the demand for them, prostitution and crime will be the only means of livelihood for many.

(8) The national benefits arising from small families with the possibilities of thrift, are clearly shown by the taxation France bears with equanimity.

(9) The number of the family should be limited by obedience to that natural physiological law testified to first by Raaborski in 1844, and since by many eminent biologists, which, if not infallible, holds good in a large number of cases.

(10) To use our power of con-

(4) Children of small families tend to be weakly and dependent, owing to the over-anxious attention received; they become healthy and independent in proportion to the size of the family. Numbers are of the highest importance to a military nation.

(5) The average standard of life is higher to-day than it was some years ago, a proof that population has not increased faster than the means of subsistence during the past century.

(6) Emigration will always relieve such temporary pressure as arises from industrial causes, and the vast tracts of land still unoccupied reduce the fear of over-population to the level of a mere chimera. It must be borne in mind also that England's foremost position among the nations is largely due to the fact that she has often had to search for fresh fields for emigration. If England had acted on this principle in the age of Elizabeth there would have been no British Empire to-day.

(7) The surest indication of prosperity in a nation is a rapidly-increasing population, and the sign most dreaded by economists is a falling off in the birth-rate. It is significant that in the evolution of the human race the nations which have favoured large families have progressed, while those which have deliberately limited the birth-rate have died away. The Australian natives enforce the "voluntary" system; Germany gives it no sympathy.

(8) In France, in spite of a stationary population, poverty still exists.

(9) Physiological laws as to the limitation of numbers cannot be formulated: a large number of great men have been late members of large families: in any case the risk of losing great men and women outweighs "laws" of doubtful empirical value.

(10) To artificially check the increase of the population is immoral; and is rankly disobedient to the teaching of Christianity.

(11) Even if the introduction of



trolling the physical conditions of reproduction through the application of human intelligence, in favour of general happiness and well-being, is to obey the highest law of nature. It is a course habitually and deliberately pursued by vast multitudes of otherwise well-educated people, forming probably a majority of the educated classes, and therefore we may assume it does not conflict with their code of morality. It saves the wife from a dangerous illness.

(11) The law ought to compel each of the contracting parties to a marriage to solemnly declare that he or she is not afflicted with a transmissible disease, of mind or body. Such a requirement is enforced in Servia, Austria, Michigan, Minnesota and other States of America.

(12) England's duty is to set herself to improve the race. It is as important that the right people should be born as that the wrong people should not be born.

(13) In almost every country there is a decline of birth-rate, but its main cause is the regulation of the number of the family by deliberate voluntary effort. In every case the decline is much greater in the more well-to-do classes.

some such law were desirable, it does not affect the general principle that it is the duty of the mother to produce as many healthy children as possible.

(12) The duty of parents is not to limit families, but to see that no unhealthy child is born into the world.

(13) The people most likely to adopt Malthusian principles are just those whose progeny is most likely to benefit their country.

## PREMATURE BURIAL : are preventive means necessary ?

**Pro :** (1) Owing to the absence, in most countries, of proper laws relative to the disposal of the dead, to hastiness of Burials during epidemics, to the uncertainty in the signs of death, as well as to the existence of certain morbid states that very closely counterfeit the appearances of death, the danger of Living Burial is a very real one.

(2) Many hundreds of cases of Premature Burial are on record.

(3) The practices of embalming, autopsy, burial and cremation should be discouraged, until every possible source of doubt is removed. Sudden death is most uncommon, unless accompanied by great mutilation, or the injury of a vital part; and no evidence except decomposi-

**Con :** (1) The present laws and regulations are quite sufficient. It may, doubtless, be true that a body may occasionally be prematurely buried; but this must be excessively rare, at any rate in Europe. The commonly accepted signs of death are admitted by all the best scientific men to be valid.

(2) "Cases" got up by laymen are almost always untrustworthy, especially when they are sent to the newspapers, many of whose editors accept almost any sensational matter, regardless of its authenticity.

(3) The practice of cremation should be encouraged, and the sooner it is universally adopted the better for all. Assuming that some bodies are disposed of before death,

tion is trustworthy, or should be accepted.

(4) The erection of mortuaries for all bodies in which decomposition has not yet commenced should at once be undertaken; and a close examination by experts should be made the day previous to the funeral.

(5\*) Failing the erection of mortuaries, the least that can be done is to insert in the coffin a bottle of chloroform with a leaky stopper in all cases in which decomposition has not become unmistakably manifest, unless autopsy or embalming has been performed.

cremation would, at any rate, prevent the risk of resuscitation after Burial.

(4) The erection of mortuaries would be an unnecessary expense, since the whole scare about Premature Burial is nothing but a fad.

*See also CREMATION.*

### PRIMOGENITURE, ABOLITION OF THE LAW OF

**Pro:** (1) It is unjust that the law, making a distinction between real and personal property, should leave the real property to the eldest son exclusively, while the personal property is equally divided among the children.

(2) Where there is a large personal estate, no great hardship is done; but where the estate consists mainly or wholly of real property, great injustice ensues, as the younger children are thereby made dependent on the eldest son. It is the duty of the law to seek to interpret the wishes of an intestate, and it ought to assume that it is unnatural for a man to desire so unequal a provision of his property.

**Con:** (1) Much inconvenience, and, in many cases, great pecuniary loss to an estate would occur if the Court of Chancery were to order the division of real estate. The law now protects the best interests of the family *qua* family.

(2) If the father had made a will, he would probably have bequeathed the real property to his eldest son, in order to ensure the continuance of the family. Scarcely any one having real property dies in ignorance of the law. Subdivision of landed estates is very injurious to the best interests of the nation.

### PRISON REFORM

**Pro:** (1) Reformation of criminals is the duty of the State towards society.

(2) Every prisoner should be individualized and given the special treatment adapted to develop him on the point on which he is weak, physically, intellectually, or morally.

(3) Time must be given for the reformatory system to take effect. The cure is facilitated by the prisoner's co-operation, and often impossible without it. Therefore, power must be given to the Director of the prison to lengthen or shorten the term of incarceration.

**Con:** (1) The duty of the State is to the public, not to the individual or to the criminal class.

(2) The whole reformatory system is a fad. It leads to the grossest hypocrisy on the part of the prisoner, whose sole object is to secure his release.

(3) The reformatory system applied to prisons would be very costly. Why should we spend money on educating criminals when money is still needed for Primary Education?

(4) Incurable offenders should be locked up for life, as dangerous to

(4) The whole process of reformation should be educational in its widest sense; it should draw out every faculty of the body, mind, and soul.

(5) Criminals may be divided into three classes: (a) Political Criminals; (b) Criminals by Passion; (c) Habitual Criminals. The last are by far the most numerous, and will be found to exhibit certain common characteristics, e.g. heads of an abnormal shape, liability to epilepsy, scrofula, sullenness, and other clearly-marked abnormal types. These facts point to the conclusion that crime ought to be regarded as a disease, and treated medically, rather than in a punitive way.

(6) The Elmira State Reformatory in New York, and the Convent Prison at Neudorf, near Vienna (where, owing to Austrian women being exempt from capital punishment, there are never less than 100 inmates), have been very successful in their humane methods of dealing with their inmates; and this system, or such modification of it as may be necessary for this country, might with advantage be introduced, at least as an experiment.

(7) There is no reason why treatment should be made pleasant; but unpleasantness should not be sought for its own sake, reformation being the sole end in view.

society. Other offenders should be treated with the utmost severity, to prevent repetitions of the offences and as warnings to others.

(5) The science of Criminology, as originally enunciated by Prof. Lombroso, is made up of theories and distorted facts. Many of the traits so loudly announced as criminal have no necessary connexion with crime, and are constantly found in people who have shown no criminal tendencies at all. If true, however, it does not seem worth while to burden the ratepayers for the sake of a doubtful cure, when extermination would be the most efficacious remedy. In any case, the theory is a very dangerous one for a State to hold, and relaxes the idea of responsibility.

(6) Elmira was long a byword, for the prisoners had a much better time of it inside than outside its walls, and New York State has now declined to support the institution.

(7) Punishment must be to a certain extent retributive, to satisfy the wounded feelings of the community.

### PRIVATE PROPERTY AT SEA: Should it be exempted from capture?

**Pro:** (1) That private property should be exempted from capture at sea would be in the interests of this country, since we possess the largest and therefore the most vulnerable mercantile marine, and depend for our sustenance and our raw material more than any other nation on sea-borne supplies. It is essential, if this country is to exist at all and carry on war, that we should detail such a proportion of the English fleet to the protection of our commerce as might very easily, in these

**Con:** (1) Ever since the idea was first embodied in a treaty by Frederick the Great, it has been the powers who have been possessed of weak fleets and powerful armies that have advocated the exemption, which is convincing evidence that it would be in the interests of such powers. Again, if the right of capture were abandoned and food were declared contraband, we should be in a parlous state, for it could be confiscated on neutral as well as national ships without retaliation. It

days of narrow margins, greatly impair the efficiency of the rest of the Fleet to discharge its paramount purpose—the protection of the country by seeking out and destroying the ships of the enemy.

(2) While the immunity of sea-borne commerce would greatly relieve the strain of defence, it would scarcely affect our power of attack. Now that we are no longer able by general capture to prevent the enemy's commerce being carried in neutral ships, and that the vast development of inland communications has made Continental nations practically independent of sea-borne trade, the power of offence exercised by attack on commerce is a thing of the past. The existing system is an anachronism.

(3) It would mitigate the severity of war and humanize its practice. It is the natural corollary to the doctrine of "free ships, free goods."

(4) Since the Declaration of Paris, by accepting the doctrine, till 1856 stoutly and successfully resisted by this country against the alternate threats and wheedlings of all Europe, that the neutral flag covers enemies' merchandise except contraband of war, took away so much of the right of capture which gave us the mastery in the past, it would be wiser for us—now more often a neutral, and the greatest of them, than a belligerent—to give up the rest, and to accept the doctrine that all private property, even in enemies' ships, should be immune.

(5) It is not suggested that control of communications should be given up. Commercial blockade might still be permissible.

(6) The maintenance of the present system supplies every great country with whom we might conceivably become involved in maritime war with the most powerful and plausible argument in favour of maintaining their navies on the highest possible scale of strength. It is a prime incentive to armaments in time of peace, and a prime cause of oppression and taxation.

is a tremendous assumption to say that the largest fleet is the most vulnerable; the greater the bulk of commerce the more difficult does it become to make any serious impression upon it.

(2) The capacity of neutral ship-pings and inland communications is not unlimited; and trade cannot be forced easily to flow healthily out of the channels into which it has settled itself.

(3) Nations cannot be brought to their knees by the mere conflict of navies; it is what follows victory that counts. Interference with the private rights of property, and the stagnation produced by the stoppage of civil communications, are the effective results of war and the cause of its ending. Since the spread of the practice of marine insurance which distributes the initial loss by individuals over the whole nation, the argument from inhumanity is altogether untenable. The doctrine of "free ships, free goods" is based on an entirely different principle—the desire to avoid causes of grievance or injury to neutrals. The right of capture at sea is equivalent to the right of requisition and contribution, the right of controlling roads, railways and rivers, and the right of forced labour of the civil population, ashore in the case of war by land.

(4) Our interests as a belligerent must always outweigh our interests as a neutral in guiding our policy. The position that all property, even in enemies' ships, should be immune involves, among other things, the strange proposition that some part of the nation can be at war and some at peace with a national enemy—and the still stranger proposition that it would be possible to blockade the whole of the British Isles.

(5) Blockades are never thoroughly effective. It is the feeling that the ship and her cargo are never safe from capture from port to port that is the real deterrent. The Declaration of London will greatly diminish the possibility and effectiveness of blockade.

Its abolition would make for peace.

(7) If a deterrent to war in the case of a nation with a large mercantile marine, the liability is an incentive to war on the part of nations less exposed and vulnerable in this respect.

(8) Why stop at wealth created by circulation? The policy of "thorough" has, however, always missed its aim: it does not make war less frequent; it makes the combatants fierce and implacable and leaves a legacy of bitter memories. None of the historical instances support the conclusion in favour of which they are adduced. All three illustrations are drawn from times when land transportation was imperfect, and when enemy's goods on neutral ships were freely seized.

(9) (Some) Sequestration should take the place of confiscation, and the owner should be compensated by his own State.

(10\*) In the event of war, Germany (or whosoever our enemy might chance to be) would either sell her ships or leave them in port during the war, or insure them in neutral countries.

(6) Our Navy is in certain circumstances intended for offence. Not only is no real and crushing defence possible without attack, but in cases where we are the injured party and no redress can be had except by war direct offence is necessary. If this new doctrine be accepted, the more powerful the British Navy, the more certain its futility as a weapon of offence. With his trade unrestricted and his Navy in port the enemy could safely leave it to a wholly inoffensive mastery, and "the command of the sea" for the purpose of offence would have sunk to the level of an unmeaning phrase.

(7) The liability to capture is a forcible deterrent of war: the merchant as well as the soldier suffers.

(8) Transportation is accumulative circulation; and from a clear military point of view, the object aimed at by the method of seizing vessels and cargoes at sea is to stop maritime transportation, the increase of the enemy's wealth by circulation. The efficacy of the weapon can be seen in the Napoleonic Wars, and the effect of the "Continental system" in the war of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States, and in the Civil War in America.

(9) The substitution of sequestration would take away the fear of war from the individual, and it is individuals who in the aggregate determine war and peace.

(10†) The capture of private property is connected with commercial blockade; unless commercial blockade is discontinued there will be constant interference with an enemy's ships, and constant disputes as to what constitutes an effective blockade. And when such disputes have once arisen between belligerent powers, it is obvious that the one which considers itself aggrieved will cease to respect the immunity of the merchant ships and private property of its enemy where found.

## PROFESSIONALISM IN FOOTBALL (AND IN CRICKET)

**Pro :** (1) When it was found that Football drew large crowds of specta-

**Con :** (1) Professionalism in all games, but especially in Football,

tors, clubs began to charge entrance money, and players, often working men, saw no reason why they should not benefit. So clubs, although payment of players was illegal under the laws of the Association, began to pay their men according to the gate receipts. This was soon discovered, and after a struggle, professionalism was eventually legalized, entirely altering the character of the game. The modern professional is quite different from the secretly paid player of some years ago, who was an unqualified evil, professedly playing for sport while really almost living upon it. The modern professional, while still a lover of the game, sells his play openly, and is no worse than a mechanic or an actor.

(2) Professionalism improves the quality and raises the standard in all sports. This has been specially true of Cricket, Racquets, Rowing and Football, e.g. the theory of combination and "passing" in the Association game is the product of Northern professional Football, and has superseded the old individual "dribbling" game. It is natural that men who devote the best part of their lives to a sport, who make a scientific study of it, and physically train for it, should be useful as examples to amateurs.

(3) It is also good for the professionals, as games have an ennobling influence on their devotees, and call forth many moral qualities.

(4) Professionalism in Cricket is an unmixed benefit to the game; and a necessity, if first-class Cricket is to continue. There must be practice bowlers, and men to coach schools and young players: and the game takes up so much time, that it is impossible to find enough amateurs to play in three-day matches, or get sufficient practice for first-class proficiency. Why not, therefore, professionalism in Football?

(5) Football weekly attracts thousands of people, especially the poor, as spectators, and provides them with healthy and manly entertainment, instead of leaving them to

tends to lower their tone, by introducing into them a commercial element. Games are amateur by nature, and are ruined by being turned into trades. If professionals are necessary for coaching purposes, they should be debarred from playing in public, for it is in this relation that abuses and scandals arise. It would be better to have nominally no professionals, taking the chance of secret sins, than to have professionalism with its attendant league matches, combinations, cup competitions, and the circus performance defined in the North as a "friendly," with the result that genuine inter-club matches, which are not propped up by such additional supports, go to the wall. Association Football, since it has legalized professionalism, confirms the forecasts that were made of it. The real amateur can scarcely get an Association game, except in London or the southern districts.

(2) Games develop quite satisfactorily under amateurs. In Football "passing" must sooner or later have replaced "dribbling" in any case. The true value of games is to be found not in the perfection of the game, but in the spirit in which they are played.

(3) Professionalism in games has no ennobling influence on the players, but degrades. The one ground on which all might meet in friendly rivalry is turned into a commercial arena. So keen are professionals on winning, and so great is their stake, that they are often tempted to adopt unfair and dishonest practices.

(4) Cricket as a profession is quite different from Football. A cricketer can get employment from eighteen or nineteen years of age till he is almost an old man, and can save money for his last years. A football professional has a very short career. Some turn their transient reputations to good account. Many receive shops or public-houses as bribes to transfer their allegiance from one club to another. Every one can afford to play Football without receiving



seek their Saturday afternoon amusement in unsuitable surroundings. The spectacular Football cannot be provided without professionals.

(6) No Football company is allowed by the rules of the Football Association to pay away more than five per cent. in dividends, whatever its profits, so that money invested in this way is not invested with the view of making a good speculation but in the interests of sport. The system of transfer fees is necessary in order to prevent the too frequent migration of players; and a club that has made a good player deserves some remuneration for the increased money-making value of his play. The maximum wage is greatly in the interest of the majority of the players.

any payment beyond his out-of-pocket expenses.

(5) Spectacular Football without professionalism is provided in the Rugby game; even if this were not possible, the people should be contented with such sports as they can get. The playing of games is a manly and healthy entertainment, but not the watching of them. The ordinary football crowd is composed of the worst type of our town-dwellers.

(6) The system of transfer fees is hopelessly immoral, and amounts to the selling of property in human beings; whilst the objections to the maximum wage are equally strong; as it puts a restraint on trade, which is detrimental to public policy, and inevitably leads to much secret corruption. By the introduction of professionalism Football clubs have been changed from social bodies to limited companies formed merely for money-making purposes.

## PROFIT SHARING

**Pro :** (1) The worker creates, to a large degree, the profits pocketed by the capitalist, and it is only right that he should be allowed a share in them. Though he cannot directly contribute to losses in bad years, he may do so indirectly by the establishment of a Reserve Fund, and by forgoing bonuses in good years.

(2) Under the present system an employé has no interest in the success of a business, in the prevention of waste, or of damage to machinery. Profit-sharing improves the quality, and leads to an increase in the quantity of the output.

(3) It has, with a few exceptions, succeeded very well where tried. Had the two most noted English examples (Briggs & Co., Ltd., and Fox, Head & Co., Ltd.) not been turned into companies for defeating the trade union, it is probable that their success would have been continuous.

(4) Profit Sharing brings the capi-

**Con :** (1) As long as workers have no share in losses as well as in profits, any scheme for Profit Sharing amounts to charity on the part of the employer. The employé has no claim beyond the competitive value of his labour: it is a pure fallacy to argue that he does any work that contributes to earning the profits of a business. The controlling force in this respect is the employer, who, according as he uses his brains and his capital wisely or foolishly, will make a profit or a loss.

(2) Profit Sharing is apt to injure the health of the workmen, by inducing overwork, and to demoralize them, by tempting them to act as spies on one another.

(3) Where the system has been introduced, it has failed lamentably in all save a few cases. It is almost invariably adopted with some such purpose as breaking up trade unions, and opposed by them. The experiment of Sir Christopher Furness proved, like others, a failure.

talist and the worker together, and tends to prevent strikes.

(4) Profit sharing is a mere palliative of evils inherent in our present industrial system, and does not touch the real sources of mischief.

See also CO-OPERATION; INDIVIDUALISM; SOCIALISM.

## PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

**Pro:** (1) The present system of representation is admittedly imperfect. Under it, as has been repeatedly demonstrated, the number of elected representatives of a party is often out of all proportion to the number of electors belonging to that party. Eight-thirteenths of the House of Commons (a majority of 150) has on more than one occasion represented comparatively slightly more than half the electors polled. In the 1906 election of nine members for Manchester and Salford, the Liberal and Labour candidates polled in the aggregate 51,721 votes and the Unionists 33,907. The former party secured nine representatives and the latter none. Under proportional representation five would have gone to the former party and three or four to the latter. Under a scheme of proportional representation, not only would both the great parties be fairly represented in accordance with the support they receive in the country, but sections within each party would also receive representation. No elector, unless those who think with him form a most insignificant element in the population, would go unrepresented.

(2) Proportional Representation would go far to moderate the excessive swing of the pendulum which our present method of election admits. Very large majorities in the House of Commons, representing very often only a small majority in the country, are apt to encourage extreme measures, which lead to violent revulsions, and a swing of the pendulum. Where the minority is a practical restraining force, legislation takes the form of a compromise satisfactory to the more moderate of both sides, and a more consistent and permanent progress is the result.

**Con:** (1) The present system of election, even if not logically correct, proves in practice fair and satisfactory. Inequalities such as that quoted in the case of Manchester affect both parties impartially, and in the end neutralize one another. At by-elections the minority would still be unrepresented.

(2) The tendency of the present system is to exaggerate the predominance of the winning side, a distinct advantage when it is remembered that the stronger the government is, the better fitted it is to do the work of the country. It is universally admitted by friends and opponents alike that if a Liberal Government is to be in power, it should have so large a majority as to render it independent of the Irish Party.

(3) A more proportional system of representation would lead to the return of a number of special advocates of fads and crotchets.

(4) To have the House of Commons filled by independent members and representatives of innumerable local interests would render the present system of Parliamentary government unworkable. Without a stable majority no government could exist. The system of transitory governments so rife in certain Continental countries would even be an improvement on such a state of affairs, for on the Continent there is some system of party government, while under Proportional Representation it would hardly be possible for parties of any size to exist.

(5) Any system such as that in use at the London School Board elections would prove in practice unworkable. It would tend to confuse the elector, who understands what he has to do when he has only one vote, or at the most two, to fill two vacancies, but who would prove

(3) The supporters of a *fad* are far more likely to exert an undue influence where a small body of votes may turn the scale in a closely contested election, and they can thus dictate votes in favour of proposals to which the majority is hostile.

(4) Members elected in this manner would be men of greater independence than the present representatives. Less in the power of the official party organizations, because better able to rely on their own followings among the electors, the members would be able to act and vote in accordance with their own conscientious views rather than merely to register the decrees of the party leaders. In Belgium the three main parties have tended to become more clearly defined, but within each party there is considerable freedom of opinion.

(5) Proportional Representation was tried and found satisfactory in the elections for the London School Board.

(6) Second ballots have failed, wherever they have been tried, to meet the demands of the parties for representation in Parliament.

(7) The scheme need not be applied to the whole country at once. Experiments might at first be made in selected constituencies, in towns such as Manchester or Liverpool returning eight or nine members, and if found successful, extended to the whole country.

(8) Electioneering costs would be less than they are now.

(9) In Belgium the system has worked well: political questions have ceased to be questions of race; and this result is of the highest importance to an Empire so composite as our own.

## PUBLIC TRUSTEE

**Pro:** (1) The losses by the misappropriation of trust funds have been estimated at £2,000,000 in six years, and a large number of those who have suffered have been those who lose thereby their very means of subsistence. It was necessary, therefore, to devise some scheme providing the necessary security.

helpless when told to record four votes in favour of any number of candidates up to four, while there were five vacancies to be filled. Instead of adopting so complicated a system, it would be better to divide the present two-member constituencies, and instead to confine every elector to one vote to fill one vacancy.

(6) (Some) The right remedy for the present electoral inequalities is the adoption of the system of second ballots.

(7) Any scheme affecting the value of a vote in this country must be applied to the whole country at the same time. Any experimental steps applied to districts only would be merely to increase any electoral anomalies that may exist.

(8) It is difficult to see how electioneering expenses would be reduced.

(9) No analogy can be drawn between Belgium and this country, as the conditions and circumstances of the two are entirely different.

**Con:** (1) The losses are slight compared with the losses in other trades or professions.

(2) The personal Trustee is far more satisfactory, for he brings benevolence and sympathy to his task, as well as skill; and on occasions will even commit a breach of trust for the benefit of the *cestui-que*

(2) The skilled and sympathetic personal Trustee is an elusive idea very seldom come at. It is increasingly difficult to induce private persons to undertake the thankless office of executor and trustee.

(3) It has now been generally conceded that there are some businesses in which it is desirable to have the security of a State guarantee behind them. Some branches of insurance business are highly speculative, and very upsetting to the sure and certain business of a Trustee. The security afforded by a State guarantee is far greater than can be afforded by any commercial company.

(4) The perpetuity of the position and the economy which the Public Trustee can effect are valuable assets. His fees are low, since he has only to charge fees sufficient to pay the expenses of his own department, while insurance companies expect to earn dividends for shareholders.

(5) The position of executor or trustee has never been held by the best solicitors to be a legitimate part of the business of their profession. Their legitimate work will be increased rather than diminished by the appointment of a Public Trustee, who will, for example, combat the ordinary testator's desire to make his own will.

(6\*) As early as 1872 a Public Trustee was provided in New Zealand.

*trust*, which is often the means of producing a great added sum of comfort.

(3) The Public Trustee Act has put the Public Trustee in a position of virtual monopoly: it is a mistake to diminish in any way the legitimate competition between commercial companies and the Government department. The Public Trustee is not endowed with the ability to confer a boon upon his clients such as is readily forthcoming from insurance companies. In the administration of estates, ready money may be required for probate and other purposes, advances may be desired by beneficiaries, and, in order to realize securities to the best advantage it may be advisable to hold them for a time, meanwhile providing money for various objects. Insurance companies readily accommodate their clients in such ways as these: a Government department does not. Various insurance companies have long undertaken the work in a completely satisfactory way, and the security for all practical purposes is as great in the one case as in the other: the trust funds in an insurance business are kept entirely apart from the others, whilst their reputation for fair treatment to clients is altogether in excess of that of a Government Department's treatment of private individuals.

(4) The Public Trustee is practically a new Government insurance department. Existing Government departments dealing with insurance have none of them been a success: neither for magnitude nor merit will the insurance department of the Post Office compare for a moment with commercial companies. There is an inevitable lack of elasticity in the conduct of business by a Government department, as was reported by the Committee appointed to consider the adoption of employers' liability insurance by the State. Commercial companies subject to competition cannot charge higher fees than prevail elsewhere, while, in comparison with other insurance departments of the State,

the commercial companies have shown that their terms to the public are greatly superior to those of Government.

(5) The appointment of a Public Trustee is unfair to the solicitors, as it takes away from them a large part of their business.

## RAILWAY NATIONALIZATION

**Pro :** (1) Railways are a natural monopoly, and while competition may seem to have advantages, experiences in England and America have shown that competition can only be worked at such a ruinous cost that in England at least the Companies have always come to terms. The policy of this country in the past has been based upon "competition and control"; and the inevitable weakness of the dual system is that control checks competition just where it would be useful in the public interest, and competition nullifies control just where it could be advantageously applied.

(2) The State in most European countries owns and works its lines most successfully. Among others the Belgian, Prussian, Bavarian Austrian, and Hungarian Railways are owned and worked by the State, and for comfort, speed, and cheapness come in no way behind those of private companies.

(3) Railways managed in the interests of shareholders cannot take a broad enough view of their social utilities: the national interest has no meaning to the shareholder except in so far as it involves increased railway profits, whilst a reduction in railway profits may imply a greatly increased industrial efficiency to the nation.

(4) While a private company would only make a new Railway if it was likely to pay, or, in rare instances, in order to keep another Company out, the State would only consider the needs of a district.

(5) The Railway vote in the House of Commons is disproportionately large, and presents a

**Con :** (1) The English railways are in no sense monopolies, since Parliament is always ready to sanction the making of a rival line if it will serve a useful purpose. The countries where competition and private ownership of Railways are found are those where the greatest comfort and speed to the passenger is combined with cheapness. The right way to remedy any thing unsatisfactory in the present situation is to create as a portion of the machinery of Government a Board of Railway Control, to protect the nation's interests and to see that the agreements and working arrangements made between themselves by the railway companies make for the public welfare.

(2) Continental State Railways are proverbial for their inefficiency and expensive rates. The Western Railway of France has become a by-word since it was taken over by the State, and is not even safe to travel upon.

(3) In order to make a profit, private companies are more likely to anticipate a public demand and to show enterprise than is a State department. The national interest is not consulted by the creation of monopolies and the restriction of competition.

(4) Private Companies frequently make lines which are never likely to pay, or not for many years, entirely at their own cost, whereas the English Post Office will not establish a new telegraph station without being guaranteed against loss. Where the State departs from commercial principles scandals arise, such as those connected with the so-called strategic railways in France.

(5) It rests with the electors to

standing menace to the purity of our public life.

(6) With State Railways would follow the substitution of one central authority for scattered bodies working independently of each other, thus avoiding the present great discomfort to the public, due to the refusal of the various companies to work into one another's hands. This method alone would make it possible to introduce into England the "zone" system of travelling now obtaining on the Austrian and Hungarian State Railways, and which possesses enormous advantages in cheapness and simplicity of working both for officials and the public.

(7) A great economy would be effected by dispensing with directors—who are useless, because in the hands of the general manager—and by substituting a small number of responsible commissioners. Great economy would be effected by the abolition of the competing systems, and of the number of competing trains.

(8) State control of the railways would not involve a great increase in the demand on the time of Parliament. A great deal of the time of Parliamentary Committees is already absorbed by railway questions.

(9) Private companies spend so much money on a few racing expresses, and in competing with other companies, that the great majority of their trains fall far below the mark, and many districts get badly served.

(10) In America the Railways have, by preferential rates, rebates, etc., favoured the growth of giant monopolies, such as the Standard Oil Trust, etc., and in England they have in like manner enabled the foreigner to undersell the home producer. Owing to the operations of our railway companies the splendid geographical position of England is discounted. In every report of the Tariff Reform Commission the handicap of British railway rates is emphasized.

(11) As there would be no desire

choose their own members; if they choose railway directors, that is their concern. It is also only natural that where the railway companies find themselves menaced by predatory legislation they should seek to protect themselves. The task of keeping State Railways free from party politics is almost impossible in a democratic country.

(6) The advantages due to the cessation of competition would be as nothing compared with the inertia engendered by the absence of all stimulus to exertion and progress.

(7) The economy due to the abolition of directors would be insignificant. The chief difficulty of State Railways is how to keep them clear of party politics, as it is obvious that such a complex business could not be managed, as the Post Office, by a chief who would probably have to resign just as he had learnt his work. In Australia the system of non-political commissioners holding their posts on the same terms as His Majesty's Judges has not been very successful, and in Victoria has been definitely abandoned. As all the railways would be under one management, there would be no opening for a man elsewhere who left or was dismissed the service.

(8) Railway Nationalization would throw an enormous amount of additional work on Parliament, which already has more than it can effectively cope with.

(9) The country districts are better served in England than in Germany.

(10) Uniform rating has often been tried—notably on the Prussian State Railways—but given up in all cases as impracticable; and it is only right that when one man can, by taking a whole train or by filling a truck, save the Company certain expenses, he should be charged at a lower rate.

(11) There would be nothing to prevent fares and charges for the carriage of goods being considerably raised whenever money was required for Government purposes. At present we have the protection of the Board of Trade against any



to increase dividends, fares and charges for the carriage of goods would be considerably lowered.

(12) By carrying half-empty first and second-class carriages the companies naturally increase the cost of travelling, since these classes, being carried either at a loss or at very small profit, have to be paid for out of the profits of the third-class passenger.

(13) State Railways, by enabling workmen and third-class passengers generally to obtain season tickets, would enable them to live in the country, away from their work, and thus contribute enormously to the health of the community.

(14) State Railways would aid commerce generally by simplifying the rates of carriage for goods, and by putting them on an intelligible system, so that a man might always know what he would have to pay on a particular class of goods.

(15) The expense of State purchase has been greatly exaggerated, and could easily be met in the same way as in Prussia—at that time a very much poorer country than England is now; the transaction has paid, and the profits of the Railway are a great relief to taxation.

(16) There are more lines in the country than are required; the centralization of the management and the destruction of competition would lead to economy.

(17) The introduction of State Railways would assist in reducing the hours worked by railway servants.

extortionate charges, but little satisfaction would be got by appealing to one Government department against another.

(12) If the companies choose to carry first and second-class passengers at a loss they must be allowed to do so at their own cost.

(13) Private companies have now extended the issue of workmen's and third-class tickets very considerably, and the movement in that direction is steady.

(14) There must always be great difficulty in classifying different kinds of goods, and there is no reason to believe that the State Railways could do anything in this direction which the private companies cannot do.

(15) The expenses of State purchase would be so heavy that the transaction could never pay. The profits made by the Prussian State Railways are quite illusory, since a more than equal sum is spent on them, and figures in the Budget. In those countries where State Railways have worked satisfactorily, the plan has been pursued from the early days of railways. They therefore have not had the disadvantage of having to compensate vested interests at the start.

(16) If two lines are to suffice where we have three at present, the country is asked to purchase a whole line that will be of no use to it except in so far as that if it was left it would be in competition with the State lines. The reduction in train mileage—e.g., there are at present three routes from London to Leeds—would lead to a reduction in the number of hands employed.

(17) State ownership would involve the State in all the dangers of strikes, etc., and leave Parliament open to undue influence from the votes of railway men. Employés would probably be forbidden to take an active part in political affairs, as at present in the Post Office; their influence on legislation as a class would, therefore, be greatly diminished.

(18†) It is probable the Government would adopt the German

plan and use the railway service to find employment for discharged soldiers and sailors. This would mean the throwing out of employment of many railway men.

### RATES: their division between owner and occupier

**Pro:** (1) The occupier pays all the rates, while the owner (or the various owners, where there are several interests) gets a portion of the benefit. Each class should pay in proportion to the benefit received.

(2) It would be quite feasible to divide the burden near enough for all practical purposes, and to ensure that it shall be fairer than the present haphazard system.

(3) It would be much simpler, and avoid many difficulties (such as yearly assessment), were a fixed proportion of the whole rates, not merely one or two special rates, to be thrown on the property as a whole. It could be easily worked through the existing machinery, and could be calculated by the ratepayer, who would only have to deduct from his rent payments a certain fixed sum, just as he now does in the case of the Income Tax.

(4) The principle, though in force in connexion with the Income Tax (Scotland and Ireland), has not been found to raise rents.

(5\*) It was recommended by Committees in 1866 and 1870.

**Con:** (1) The present system has grown up gradually, and represents a very just division. No occupier takes a house in ignorance of the approximate amount of the rates.

(2) That it is impossible to arrive at an absolutely fair division of the burden is a sufficient argument against disturbing existing arrangements, under which at least rough justice is done.

(3) The present system is the simplest; the occupier is always to be found, while it is not always easy to trace the landlord.

(4) The proposed system would undoubtedly raise rents in the end.

*See also LAND VALUES; BETTERMENT; UNDEVELOPED LAND.*

### REDISTRIBUTION

**Pro:** (1) The variations in size of constituencies has become so considerable since the last Redistribution Act (1885), that a new arrangement has become imperative. (Essex, Walthamstow, with 39,117 electors, Romford with 52,984, Kilkenny with 1,742 and Newry with 2,021, all have equal representation in the House of Commons). With such wide variations the constitutional principle of no taxation without representation is almost transgressed. A voter in Kilkenny has, merely through accident of resi-

**Con:** (1) Any Redistribution of the electoral areas would be a needless interference, for in the end, the result looked at as a whole would differ slightly from that of the present system. It would be a task of almost impossible difficulty to work fairly: thus suppose Middlesbrough and Cleveland, which at present return three members, were to be redistributed so as to form three equal constituent electorates of 12,000 electors. It would depend upon the particular way in which the redistribution was carried out

dence, 30 times the voting power of an elector in Romford.

(2) The Act of Union has already been modified, notably in the case of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, and could consequently without creating any precedent be modified again. There is no reason why in a united Parliament, Irishmen should be over-represented as compared with Englishmen or Scotsmen. Since the Redistribution Act of 1832 was no breach of the Act of Union with Scotland of 1707, a new Redistribution would be still less a breach of the Act of 1800. The introduction of a Home Rule Bill would be an excellent opportunity for the introduction of a Redistribution Bill concurrently.

(3) From the point of view of population the disparities are almost as great as from those of electorate. Some members represent 200,000 people, others 20,000. Five members represent as many people as forty-five other members, 370 represent one-third of the population, while the remaining two-thirds have to be satisfied with 300 representatives. Even if an absolute numerical equality of electorates is unattainable, the closest approximation to that ideal should be striven for.

(4) In 1886 the Unionists, although actually a minority of votes, secured a majority of 104 members in the House. In 1900 the Unionists had a majority of 134, and not of 16 as they would have had under a system of proportional representation. In 1906, though the Welsh Conservative vote has been estimated at 100,547, not a single Conservative was returned for the whole of the Principality.

(5) If the changes do not take place automatically it is necessary that whenever the injustice of the situation becomes acute there should be a Redistribution. Such is now the case.

## REFERENDUM, THE

**Pro :** (1) The Referendum would be a check upon hasty legislation : it would ensure that measures of vital

whether the three new seats should return three Liberal members, or two Unionist and one Liberal member. It would be impossible to draw these geographical lines in such a way that any one would be satisfied.

(2) A reduction of the Irish representation would be a breach of faith, an injustice to Ireland in penalizing her for the immigration of her sons who have been driven abroad by English rule.

(3) Interference with the present distribution of electors would destroy long existing constituencies, and remove from the roll of constituencies names that have become historical. Historical and characteristic traditions would be destroyed.

(4) Even with all seats perfectly equal in size such a result would be possible if all the majorities on one side were large and on the other all the majorities small.

(5) A scheme of redistribution would not secure more than a temporary settlement unless provision was made for changes to take place automatically where the movements of population had greatly increased or diminished the number of people in any constituency.

**Con :** (1) Sufficient checks to hasty legislation already exist in the Press and in public opinion ; moreover, it

Importance could not be passed by a Government which was acting contrary to the wishes of the majority of the electorate; and is the last step in the process of making the voice of the democracy effective. (Some) The adoption of the compulsory Referendum, and possibly the Initiative, would be the greatest possible safeguard against sudden tampering with the Constitution; as it would be applied only on important questions of constitutional change, it would not involve any serious change in the routine of government.

(2) It is rendered necessary by the breakdown of the representative system. English statesmen who are wont to congratulate themselves on the democratic nature of our Constitution, and on their subservience to the will of the people, can hardly object to any measure the sole purport of which is to increase the efficiency of popular control. (Some) There would be no need for a Government to resign if defeated on a Bill referred. The people would therefore be able to retain the most able men in office without being compelled to support them in every measure.

(3) The heart of an entire policy is often contained in some single resolution or law, and if the doctrine of the mandate has any place in the theory of democracy, it is applicable to these pivotal occasions.

(4) It would force the electors to vote for measures, not for men; this they are perfectly competent to do; candidates are supported less because of their individual fitness than because they represent a party or are pledged to support a particular policy or statesman of whom the electors approve. Why should those who are at present asked to decide on the complex issues raised by the rival policies of the two parties touching every interest of the State, foreign or domestic, find it so much more difficult to decide on the advantages or disadvantages of a single legislative proposal? Whatever the merits of voting for "men not

would always be in the hands of the legislature or executive to decide what questions were or were not questions of constitutional change, and they would thus be able to defend the opinion of the House of Commons.

(2) The central theory of the Constitution, that of the responsibility of Ministers to the House of Commons, would be affected if not destroyed. The Referendum is not democratic in the best sense. Gambetta said: "The sovereignty of the people exists, is recognized, is practised in any country only when the Parliament elected by the votes of all the citizens possesses the full right of guidance and the final word in the treatment of political affairs," i.e., a truly democratic government is representative. (Some) The English Constitution already errs on the side of democracy, and in a society where private property is recognized, and there are wide differences in the relative possessions and capacities of the citizens, it is unwise to leave the final decision on all vital matters in the hands of the populace.

(3) It enforces a separatist fragmentary treatment of policy. When a law is a link in a chain of policy to submit each link in such a chain for separate acceptance or rejection is to present an artificially-broken set of issues. The most intelligent electorate will not accept a measure which, taken by itself, is unpalatable or inconvenient, on the ground that it forms part of a larger policy which they approve.

(4) The electors, while perfectly competent to decide between the capacities of two candidates, are not fit to decide on questions of general policy. The masses have not the leisure or requisite knowledge to carry out direct legislation. Because the result of a Referendum showed that on the whole the people were rather in favour of a bill than against it, it would not prove that there was a majority in favour of the Bill; for there would be no power of amendment in the people.

measures" may be, they are greatly discounted when party discipline is as strong as it now is in the country.

(5) The Referendum would be most valuable as an educational factor, encouraging in the electors the habit of thinking for themselves on all questions of the day. It would certainly lead to an increased interest in the proceedings of Parliament, and measures which are now too often closely watched only in the interests of sections, classes, or individuals would then be criticized from the point of view of the community.

(6) The adoption of the Referendum would not render Parliament unnecessary: it would make it more necessary, for it would be the duty of Members to decide how each measure should be drawn up, and to settle all questions of detail connected therewith, these being points on which the people would not be competent to act.

(7) The adoption of the Referendum would weaken the detrimental influence exercised by the party system over English politics: oratory and argument no longer weigh in a House of Commons made up of Members who vote in accordance with the orders of the Party Whip—it would be otherwise in view of an immediate appeal to the country.

(8) A partial application of the Referendum might be made as an experiment.

(9) The principles of a measure or the actual Bill introduced can always receive the sanction or disapproval of the people by a plain negative or affirmative. The Referendum has worked well in the trade union ballots.

(10) General elections are supposed to be an appeal to the country on particular measures; the issues are, however, so obscured by various side issues, that it is often impossible to attribute success to any specific cause. The Referendum would abolish this uncertainty, and render it impossible for a measure of which the people disapproved to become law.

They would have to take it or leave it.

(5) The efficiency of the Government is a much more important aim than the education of voters, who ought to obtain their education in a less expensive manner than by tampering with the Constitution.

(6) The adoption of the Referendum would destroy the responsibility of the House of Commons, and deteriorate the tone of its Members.

(7) Under the Referendum the party system would not be affected, since the mass of voters, being ignorant on general questions, would follow one side or the other, and men keen to carry a reform would buy support for their particular hobby by promising support to other men's hobbies. Debates in the House of Commons would rapidly deteriorate under the Referendum, and would be left almost entirely in the hands of men anxious to distinguish themselves in the eyes of the people.

(8) A partial application of the Referendum would prove nothing as to its applicability in its complete form, and would tend to produce an impression that the Constitution might be altered to suit a mere whim of the moment.

(9) Many measures, e.g. Tariff Reform are incapable of an answer "Yes" or "No."

(10) In a General Election, statesmen are so identified with the measures they propose or oppose, and candidates elected so often on the ground of their support or opposition to a particular policy, that it is clear that the opinion of the majority on the main issue is the decisive factor in the situation. If there were a Referendum many measures of great local importance and earnestly desired by a local minority, e.g. Welsh Disestablishment, might be defeated by the ignorance or selfishness of those to whom they had no interest.

(11) Switzerland is too small, and its inhabitants too poor, to afford any precedent for the successful working of a similar system in a densely populated and wealthy coun-

(11) The Referendum has been at work for many years in Switzerland, and partially tried in several States of the American Union; in all cases it has been a great success. It eliminates in Switzerland much waste of political energy by enabling proposals of unknown value to be submitted separately to a quantitative test.

(12) Between General elections, questions sometimes arise that were never discussed between a Member and his constituents; the former then acts without consulting the wishes of the latter, and occasionally in opposition to them. There would no longer exist the risk of both parties in turn, intoxicated by long periods of power, legislating at the dictates of a House no longer representative of the electors.

(13) It would probably only cost about £100,000, if we may form an estimate from the cost of a County Council election.

(14) Whenever there was a deadlock between the two Houses upon an important measure a Referendum would be taken upon that measure, and whenever in the honest opinion of the Second Chamber a measure of great importance was passed through the Lower House that measure would be referred to the people, unless it had been the predominant issue at the last preceding general election.

(15) (Some) The checks to over-hasty legislation exercised by the House of Lords in this country and the various Senates abroad are inefficient, for they constitute in the eyes of the masses a defiance on the part of the aristocracy and plutocracy of the wishes of the people; the issue becomes a different one, and measures which may have had their support before, do so no longer on account of their merits, but because they have been identified with the cause of popular rights.

(16\*) A law which has received the direct sanction of a popular vote has a higher degree of stability than one passed by a party vote in a legislative assembly. In Swit-

try like England. The experiment in the United States has been so very partial that it is impossible to say how far it would be a success if tried generally. Switzerland has no system of party government in our meaning of the term; therefore the executive has practically nothing to fear from the results of the revisional pollings. The most notable feature is the large number of abstentions; although the Swiss are a keenly political nation, it has been found impossible to bring more than 50 per cent. to the Referendum polling-booth. Again, the Referendum has worked as a check on the forces of progress. No other modern state shows any inclination to adopt the Referendum.

(12) The adoption of shorter Parliaments would supply the want of touch between a Member and his constituency better than any violent change in the Constitution.

(13) The unceasing general elections in miniature would cause a large and wasteful outlay of money. It would entail an unnecessary expense, amounting to probably nearly two millions for each Bill referred.

(14) If the power of deciding what Bills shall or shall not be referred is left with the Second Chamber, it is incompatible with the predominance of the people's elected House. It places a small class of hereditary irremovable Peers on the same footing as the elected representatives of the people, by giving them the power to obstruct the action of the Commons and compel an appeal to the people. The Referendum would afford the Peers greater facilities, accompanied by less responsibility, for embarrassing a Liberal administration. The Lords would so treat every Liberal Bill of importance that practically all Liberal measures would have to be submitted to the country, while all Tory Bills would be passed at once. The Referendum would not operate fairly as between the two great parties.

(15) (Some) The House of Lords, as representing the wealth, the in-



zerland there is no important instance of the reversal of such a law.

(17\*) The people have no temptation to compromise principles.

(18\*) There are many points connected with our legal and commercial systems on which the people would express a more unbiassed opinion than a House of Commons made up of lawyers, bankers, and Company promoters.

tellect, and the culture of the country, is the most efficient check to ill-considered legislation. So far from weakening the House of Lords, the attacks on it have merely strengthened it.

(16†) The processes of Parliamentary legislation, slow and lingering though they be now, would be far slower and more leisurely.

(17†) It would be impossible to prevent corrupt and illegal practices being carried on to an alarming extent. At present it is obviously not only the duty but in the interest of the candidate to prevent them, as he is liable to be unseated. The same considerations would not apply under a Referendum.

See also PARLIAMENTS, SHORTER.

## REVERSIONISTS, RATING OF

**Pro :** (1) In order to repay the capital borrowed for the purposes of permanent improvements, a separate rate should be imposed on owners, for under the present system the greater part of the benefit goes to them, while the occupier pays for them.

(2) The tenant gets little advantage from a sinking fund, since few are likely to be in possession when the loan is finally repaid; thus the whole benefit is really reaped by the landlord.

(3) While the occupier would pay the interest on the loan raised to meet these improvements, the *onus* of repaying the capital would rest on the owner, as the permanent interest in the property is vested in him.

(4) Such a measure would help towards a fair readjustment of the incidence of rating.

## RIGHT TO WORK BILL

**Pro :** (1) Every economist, every social investigator in the country, has laid down that modern industry demands a surplus of labour to carry it on, and not only a steady surplusage of labour, which may become a minimum, but it also requires now and again a critical condition of unemployment. To that there is an

**Con :** (1) Permanent improvements benefit the occupier for the time being far more than the owner, and it is not fair to tax him on a prospective benefit, which may perhaps never accrue to him.

(2) It is impossible accurately to apportion the benefits received in this or in any other similar case.

(3) The actual sinking fund itself, or the part which goes to the extinction of debt, is infinitesimal in proportion; and, as this is the only sum that can rightly be called the landlord's, it is not worth while to alter the whole rating of a locality on its account.

(4) No reform of local rating can be piecemeal; it must be comprehensive.

**Con :** (1) Every penny which the Public Authority takes out of the citizen's pocket in the shape of taxes or rates diminishes *pro rata* his power to set labour in motion. You cannot spend money for the benefit of the Unemployed without throwing other people out of employment. One sovereign will not pay for two

inevitable corollary. If we are to have unemployed, not because the men are inferior to the employed, but because of the very nature of the organization of industry, the burden of unemployment should not be placed on the backs of these weak men, or left to charity or to odds and ends of ill-assorted legislation, but should be dealt with boldly.

(2) The Bill would help to solve the problem of unemployment, and would be a step on the way to a more equal distribution of capital. It would take from those that have and give to those that have not: and would increase the productivity of the nation.

(3) Between the circumstances of to-day in England and the circumstances of 1848 in Paris no precise parallel exists. The acuteness of the industrial and political crisis in Paris, and the jealousies and intrigues of opposing parties both within and without the Provisional Government, made the execution of any carefully planned scheme difficult, if not impossible. The experience that has been gained since that time in the organization of relief works and the general advance in the knowledge of the problem would enable us to avoid the pitfalls into which the Provisional Government of 1848 fell. Certainly pay without work is in no sense a necessary corollary to a right to work.

(4) There is absolutely no reason why the work provided by the municipality should be easier than under private employers: in fact there could be no competition under a properly devised scheme between the two.

sets of wages. Unless you have work for the Unemployed which the nation really wants done, it is a national waste to start it. The Labour Party asks, not that work may be done, but that an excuse may be found for paying wages. The Socialist "right to work" means the right of one man to take another man's job. The burden of Unemployment, if the doctrine of "labour reserves" is correct, ought to be borne by the industries primarily concerned. The expense of maintaining the necessary reserves ought to fall on the employer who benefits by their existence.

(2) The principle involves the complete ultimate control by the State of the full machinery of production, and so far from remedying or helping to remedy the problem of Unemployment the Bill would vastly aggravate it. No class of the community would be more seriously prejudiced than the working class.

(3) We have an example of the mischievous nature of such legislation in the fiasco of the *Ateliers Nationaux* of 1848, when the Parisian artisans demanded immediate employment at the hands of the State. The Provisional Government made a proclamation that they engaged to guarantee the subsistence of the workman by his labour, i.e., work to all citizens. The works provided were nothing but half a dozen earthworks—ridiculously inadequate as a means of relief for the prevailing distress. Six thousand men found employment, and then there was no more work. The Government, unable to fulfil its promise of work, felt constrained to provide pay without work on production of a ticket showing there was no vacancy in the works. Then the Unemployed were mobilized in an army. After three months the numbers had become 115,000. Men deserted from their work at the factories to join the "army," where they could get pay without work. When a proclamation was made substituting sk for day work, and summarily dismissing all those who refused to work at

their own trade under private employers, a terrible insurrection broke out in the streets of Paris. Ten thousand insurgents were killed, and 12,000 were taken prisoners. To proclaim a "natural right" to work can lead only to political confusion and economic disaster.

(4) Such a proposal, were it otherwise feasible, would soon empty the factories and workshops, workers being unemployed in order to qualify for easier and securer jobs under the municipality.

See also UNEMPLOYED.

## RITUALISM, SUPPRESSION OF

**Pro :** (1) There are in the Church of England a large number of clergy who use their position to teach doctrines and practise ceremonies directly contrary to the principles of the Reformation, and expressly forbidden by her (e.g., Communion is frequently celebrated without any communicant save the priest). This law-breaking has in the past been aided by the Bishops, by the prohibition of all legal redress to aggrieved parishioners, and by the preferment of notorious law-breakers to the highest offices in the Church.

(2) A National Church must be based on a national authority, and the only national authority recognized is that of Crown and Parliament. The ecclesiastical hierarchy is not a national authority, and not the smallest change can be made in the doctrines or ceremonies of the Church except by the authority of Parliament. The clergy are bound by their canonical oath to obey the State.

(3) The Ritualist's test of "Catholic consent" breaks down, since no agreement on the subject of jurisdiction is to be found. It is impossible for a Church to cast off Catholic intercommunion without falling under the power of the State. The Russian Church, the Greek, the Nestorian are or were all Erastian: so would be the Scotch Episcopal and the Anglo-American, if ever they became commensurate with the nation.

(4) The practice of Reservation

**Con :** (1) So far from being law-breakers, the Catholic Party in the Church have been the first to insist on the strict observance of the laws of the Church, which had been notoriously and openly flouted by the Low Church Party, e.g., in regard to the daily service, fasting, etc. Moreover, the clergy are not forbidden to marry, in defiance of the law of the Church, persons who have been divorced, and priests are allowed openly to deny the Incarnation, Resurrection, etc.

(2) The right of Parliament or the civil authority to interfere with, or dictate to, the Church in spiritual matters can never be admitted, and the blundering of the last few years shows how unfit the civil power is to deal with matters which lie outside its sphere. Neither the Court of Arches nor the Privy Council is in any sense a spiritual Court. The Archbishops sat in the Privy Council only as assessors, taking no real part in the proceedings, and the judgments of that body, at least in one instance, were confessed by a judge taking part in the proceedings to have been one of policy, not of law. The oath of the clergy binds them to obey Church and State—not the State alone when it is acting in opposition to the laws of the Church. For instance, should the State adopt Arianism it would be the duty of the clergy to resist.

(3) Since the Church of England is but a part of the Catholic Church, the law of its establishment must

is forbidden by the rubrics, and is absolutely alien to the spirit of the Prayer-book.

(5) Confession, as allowed by the Church of England, is very different from the auricular confession of the Roman Church. Not only is the former non-compulsory, but "the English Church gives the minister no power to demand that the penitent shall confess anything more than the matter which perplexes or troubles him" (Abp. of Canterbury's Address). It is absolutely impossible that the confessor should find out concealed sins without instilling vice. "How can he see where in the heart of his penitent purity and impurity, knowledge and ignorance, meet, so as to be quite certain that his questions teach no new sin?" (Abp. Magee, Ch. Assoc. Tract, L.—13). Moreover, his questions to young children must be founded on his knowledge of the most abandoned of his parishioners, or more than that, he has to consult the volumes of the Roman Casuist, in which confessor after confessor has recorded his experience till they form a museum of vice.

necessarily be in agreement with "Catholic consent."

(4) The practice of Reservation for the sick is not forbidden by the laws of the English Church. (See Kempe, *Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament*.)

(5) Confession is enjoined by the rubrics; and in order to avoid the evils of an unregulated confessional the Society of the Holy Cross requested the Bishops to provide for the education, selection, and licensing of duly qualified confessors. This was refused. The book, *The Priest in Absolution*, was published by the Society in order to guide the clergy in dealing with moral disease, and had necessarily to be outspoken and contain much, like a medical work, which could not be advantageously read by the general public, consequently the second part was never published openly, and attempts were made to keep the whole book only for those who would use it and not abuse it—one fact which differentiates it from those works of Protestants which have been openly hawked about the streets in large numbers, though those who sold them must have known the purpose for which they were bought. (*Truth*, September, 1898.) Moreover, the following directions were laid down for the Priest. He was to ask no questions unless the penitent needed help on account of timidity, etc., or from being tempted to keep something back, and then only very tentatively so as neither to teach evil nor inspire a desire to know something not yet understood. (A. H. Mackonochie, letter quoted in *Church Times*, June 29, 1877.) The practice being, moreover, purely voluntary, is resorted to only by those who feel a special need for it, and to whom it will probably be most beneficial. It is most unjust to judge a system only by its abuses.

## SECOND BALLOTS

**Pro:** (1) The system of Second Ballots, by forcing the successful candidate to have a clear majority of the votes polled, would lead to a

**Con:** (1) There is no necessity for change; under the present system the people are adequately represented.

true representation of the people.

(2) Without a Second Ballot it is quite possible for a man to be elected who has gained little more than one-third, or even less, of the votes polled.

(3) Second Ballots would destroy the force of the argument brought by the local caucus managers, etc., against Labour candidates and others, that they are going to split the party.

(4) The greater the number of the candidates, the greater the choice of the electorate.

(5) Undue multiplication of candidates might be checked by demanding a deposit from each, to be forfeited in the event of his not obtaining more than a fixed proportion of the votes polled.

(6) It is very difficult for the party officials to decide which of two or three candidates would be likely to secure most votes; this difficulty would be abolished by a system of Second Ballots.

(7) Such a system would tend to counteract the tyranny exercised by party feelings, and to reduce the power of caucus managers and others.

(8) It would enable opinions to be heard that now have no chance of being discussed at all.

(9) As candidates would not be forced to compromise so much on various questions, they would be much more independent.

(10) The system is very common abroad, and works well there.

(11\*) It would reveal the strength of different sections of a party, and thus prevent small but noisy minorities from obtaining an undue amount of attention.

(2) To constitute an effective majority there must be a common body of opinion, strong enough to hold a party together; and it may be presumed that where there is not enough in common between two parties to enable one to give way to the other on an important point, the binding force of those common opinions is not very great.

(3) Friction would have been engendered to such an extent within the party by the First Ballot, that the conflicting members of a party would not be so willing to co-operate at the Second. Additional expense would be involved.

(4) The system would encourage the multiplication of parties, as in the French Chamber.

(5) A deposit system would constitute a property qualification and introduce a speculative element, since no man can accurately forecast the number of votes he is likely to poll.

(6) It is no part of our electoral machinery to help the political parties to know their own minds, nor is there sufficient reason why the whole machinery of government should be thrown out of order for that purpose.

(7) The evils of the caucus are much exaggerated; party discipline is a very valuable factor in our political life.

(8) Such a system might multiply fads and faddists in the House of Commons.

(9) Second Ballots would not abolish the necessity for compromise, at least during the second election, if not during the first. Would a Radical teetotaler vote for a Liberal brewer, even though he were the elected of the party? would he not rather vote even for a Tory?

(10) The system has never been a complete success where it has been tried.

## SERVICE, COMPULSORY UNIVERSAL

There are several schemes of universal service:—

(1) Universal national training as advocated by the National Service League.

Subject to certain legal exemptions and disqualifications, every man be-

tween the ages of eighteen and thirty would be liable to be called up for training. This training would consist of a Recruits' course of four to six months' continuous training (according to the branch of the service in which he elected to serve) followed during the next three years by fifteen days annually, together with a musketry course and a certain number of drills.

The Recruits' training could be postponed until the second or third year, but no later, unless the Army Reserve were called out. After finishing his four years' course, a man would be required to do no more unless called out in the case of a grave national emergency.

(2) The Norfolk Commission in 1904 recommended that the whole able-bodied population should be trained to arms, every man on attaining military age serving for one year, and that thereafter there should be one or two annual periods of a few weeks' exercise.

(3) Conscription (*q.v.*).

(4) Sir Ian Hamilton, in his book entitled *Compulsory Service*, suggests a scheme whereby the Regular and Territorial Forces should continue as heretofore, strengthened by an Act of Parliament under which in national emergency it would be lawful to call out the whole able-bodied male population for national defence. (The arguments given below do not deal with this form.)

**Pro:** (1) A great nation should rely for its protection upon its whole manhood, and not upon a limited professional class. It is the duty of every one to take part in the service of his country and to be so trained that he can do so effectively.

(2) The training and discipline between the ages proposed would be to the great advantage of the people in every way. It would make them better citizens and better workmen. The moral benefit would be of inestimable value to the nation, whilst the physique of the British townsman in comparison with that of the German or Swiss is most unsatisfactory.

(3) With universal training, mutual respect would be engendered between the classes, and the moral tone of the barrack room would be governed and regulated by the standard of the better educated and more influential men undergoing their training.

(4) No military system is satisfactory which does not contain immediate "powers of expansion." During the South African War volunteers for active service were called for in large numbers during the first six months of the war, and the figures then obtained show that the "voluntary reserve of the country must vary directly with the numerical strength and degree of training of the national defence of the country." Those volunteering from the untrained masses did so in the pro-

**Con:** (1) The moral argument is misleading; the real "national service" which we owe is the fulfilment of "the daily round, the common task."

(2) Great moral harm might result from collecting together in camps large numbers of youths of all classes at a most impressionable age. Even if the desirability of physical training be admitted, this could be more simply achieved by compulsory drill in the schools.

(3) There are great disadvantages in young men living in barracks and associating with undesirable companions.

(4) Universal military training would create a compulsory army for service at home, and thereby weaken our regular army for service abroad. Wherever there is compulsory service the regular (or colonial) Army falls into disrepute, and is maintained at an enormous expense.

(5) It would make recruiting much more difficult, as men who did not desire to give their lives to "soldiering" would have had sufficient without enlisting as a regular. The example of the *Spectator* Experimental Company is fallacious, for enlistment was voluntary, and the men who joined were anxious to give the military life a trial.

(6) It is true that under the League's system, the numbers required would be readily obtained. It would, however, be a far less well-organized force; and by the com-



portion of about 1 in 1,000, and this percentage was due more to the knowledge of their own inefficiency than from any lack of patriotism.

(5) In the opinion of many famous and experienced men, civil and military, the system of universal training as advocated by the N.S.A. would aid recruiting. History, in the cases of the *Spectator* experimental Company, the present Special Reserve, and such institutions as the Duke of York's School, shows that this opinion is correct. At the present time a very large percentage of the total number of recruits for the regular army enlist either because they are compelled to do so from poverty and hunger or from innate love of soldiering; in neither case would a short period of training alter their decision.

(6) Once it is admitted that a Home Defence force is necessary at all (and the mere existence of the Territorial force makes this admission inevitable) it must then also be admitted that the force should be an adequate one for the purpose. The present system does not, unfortunately, supply this need. The force is now (April, 1911) about 45,000 under strength, and of those who are serving 83,000 are under twenty years of age. But the two most disquieting facts are that in the year ending September 30, 1910, there were 67,000 less recruits, and that in 1909 (the last available figures) the enormous number of 30,000 men had never fired a single round on an open range.

(7) Experts have said that were we to lose command of the sea even for sixty hours, it would be possible for the enemy to land men on these shores. The Territorial force is not to go into war training until war breaks out, and could not possibly hold its own against trained troops. The majority of the regular army being required for Imperial purposes and as an expeditionary force, the brunt of the work would fall on the Territorials. Even one of their greatest admirers has admitted that they would have to

pulsory retirement of the older and better trained men, much of the *esprit de corps* of the more famous of the present Territorial battalions would be lost. The fighting value of a unit increases proportionally with the length of time the men have known and worked with each other. In the present force, owing to voluntary enlistment, each man takes a pride in doing as much training as possible, and so is a better-trained man than one who merely does grudgingly the minimum amount.

(7) We already have regular soldiers to guard all the possible objects of attack against the possibility of a raid. We are asked to create this gigantic machine giving us an armed force of 4,000,000 men in time of war in order to deal with a raiding force which, in the considered opinion of the Admiralty, could not exceed 10,000 men. For Home Defence what we require is not a huge army, but a Territorial force able to cope with raids. For Imperial defence we require a professional army able at any moment to provide a sufficient expeditionary force; an army of this kind maintained for oversea service can only be raised on the voluntary system. The compulsory system would, on the one hand, give us an army of a kind that we do not want, and on the other could not give us an army of the kind we do want. Never since the union with Scotland have British soldiers had to fight with foreign foes in defence of their own homes. Our navy must save us in the future as it has in the past; even if it failed it would be far easier for the enemy to bring us to our knees by making the continuance of our industrial life impossible than by attempting to invade this island.

(8) The War Office officials state that an additional expense of £9,000,000 would be incurred annually. Now the annual cost of a *Dreadnought* in commission is £300,000, and hence for the additional sum to be incurred we could maintain thirty *Dreadnoughts* in full

outnumber the invaders considerably, and, if beaten the first time, that they would take some time to find out their own powers again. How these numbers are to be obtained under the present voluntary system, it is impossible to see; for it must be remembered that not all the present members of the force even would be available for mobilization. We can never hope to secure again such supremacy at sea as we possessed at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and a temporary loss of the command of the sea, even though that loss involved enormous interruption to our industrial life, would not necessarily mean defeat and starvation provided we could be ready to keep out an invading army.

(8) The extra annual cost, exclusive of capital charges, would be under £4,000,000, or, inclusive of capital charges, £5,000,000.

(9) The system is popular with the Swiss, who regard it rather as a pastime than a *corvée*. It takes very little away from the civilian life of each citizen, and adds an element of interest, pleasure and occasional excitement. It is a really democratic system of defence, for Switzerland would not endure anything but such a system. At the same time our regular army would still be in existence, and being composed of professional soldiers would still be available for service abroad.

(10) There is a stronger peace party in countries where military service is compulsory. Similarly the training proposed would produce a nation "slow to dread or despise, mighty because of knowledge, humble by sacrifice."

(11) It avoids Conscription, both in its real and in its generally accepted meaning. Conscription in its true meaning involves the taking of some men by ballot; a money payment would absolve a rich man from doing his obvious duty at the expense of the poor. This would destroy the whole democratic principle underlying the N.S.L. scheme. Conscription in the generally accep-

commission, which would add incomparably more to our strength than the compulsorily trained citizens.

(9) The problems of national defence for Switzerland and Great Britain could not be more totally different. The Swiss can never be called on to fight except as the auxiliaries of one of the greater powers; the task of her army is to defend the frontiers of the homeland against violation during any war that may break out between two neighbouring powers. We need regular soldiers to garrison our overseas possessions, and we cannot afford that our army should look upon their work as a pastime.

(10) Universal military training would foster a spirit of militarism which might involve this country in wars which might otherwise be avoided.

(11) (Some) Compulsory Service is open to the same objections as Conscription (*q.v.*). (Others) Compulsory service is a very inefficient substitute for Conscription, and it is Conscription that this requires. (*See* CONSCRIPTION.)

(12) It would absolutely organize the trade and labour market.

(13) Every penny spent in augmenting our land forces beyond a certain point represents a penny that would otherwise have been available for strengthening our first line of defence. In any event, troops that are not seriously trained until the outbreak of war are valueless against a fully-trained army. Their presence would give the country a false feeling of security.

(14) This is answered by previous objections, and by the fact that the conditions in Australia and England are in no way analogous.

(15) No responsible person suggests that our compulsorily trained men are to be employed in wars of aggression. The war must have a defensive purpose, to give it that moral sanction without which recourse to compulsory service would be intolerable. Specialization is the right method here, as elsewhere.

ted sense is the withdrawal of the whole of the male population of a certain age from civil life for two or three years. Under the proposed scheme no one will become merely a soldier and cease to be a citizen; it would create a citizen army ready and able to defend the country if and when necessary.

(12) By annually removing 150,000 men for four months from the labour market, it would tend to diminish unemployment.

(13) An adequate defence army is required to support the navy, our first line of defence. We cannot anchor our ships bow to stern round the coast; but the navy must be free to adopt its own policy, knowing that if it is called away for any reason, a sufficient force is left behind to guard the shores against any possibility of invasion.

(14) Universal training has been adopted in Australia under a Labour Government, and has been taken up by the people with enthusiasm on the ground of economy, efficiency and equality.

(15) We must not neglect the tremendous responsibilities we have abroad in our possessions: the Navy is not sufficient without the army; each is the necessary complement of the other. Our obligations abroad, as the South African War showed us, furnish a sufficient cause for the creation of a force ready for Home Defence. Canada and India may at any time be in need of our assistance, and we cannot afford to be compelled to keep our regular army at home, for fear of invasion, and thereby sacrifice our Imperial obligations.

(16) The movement for compulsory military training is entirely non-political, and amongst its supporters are found men and women of every rank, creed and political party. The reason that no leader has yet been found with courage enough to include it in his programme is that it does not yet appeal to the selfish British electorate.

Soldiers should be professional at any rate where the service is abroad. We may yet require 1,000,000 men in India; we have guaranteed the integrity of Belgium; and all our interests are bound up with the maintenance of the Low Countries free from the dominance of a great military and naval aggressive Power; we have Egypt also to protect. The army for these services must primarily be the regular army; the men cannot be raised on the false assumption that they are to defend our country at home.

(16) That to spend money on compulsory military training is not to follow the line of defensive policy which will provide the maximum security for the outlay involved, is the one point of supreme national interest upon which the leaders of all four Parliamentary parties are agreed.

## SOCIALISM (or COLLECTIVISM)

The proposals upon which Socialists are practically unanimously agreed are: (i) The taking over by the State of the whole of the instruments of production, distribution and exchange; (ii) the contention that in the normal course of Social Evolution the time is now ripe for this to be inaugurated and for the process of social reconstruction founded on it to begin; (iii) that this reorganization is not only to be sanctioned, but to be initiated, directed and controlled, by the working classes or by those of their leaders in whom they may choose to repose confidence.

**Pro:** (1) The fundamental principle of Socialism is that as an actual fact the government of the world is determined by an evolutionary force behind and above chance impulse and individual will, and Socialism aims at providing this force with a concrete organ—namely, the State—which will systematically absorb all the individual wills into itself, making them work in an orderly manner together.

(2) Socialism is the awakening of a collective consciousness in humanity, a collective will, and a collective mind, out of which finer individualities may arise for ever in a perpetual series of fresh endeavours and fresh achievements for the race. The great task of the future is the reorganization of society in the interest, not of enjoyment, but of moral manhood. No man can come to himself or his own except in a society of men. He cannot come to freedom except in a society which limits freedom.

(3) The Socialist does not propose to destroy something which would conceivably last for ever. Competitive individualism destroys itself. The alternative form to Socialism is tyranny and social ruin. The first gigantic practical demonstration of this is now being given in the United States of America.

(4) The economic development of capitalist production divorces the workers ever more and more from all property in, or control over, the means of production, creating a proletariat on the one hand, and a non-working capitalist and propertied class on the other. The still-surviving small craftsmen, art workers, are only an unimportant exception to the gene-

**Con:** (1) The State is not the true medium for the absorption of all the individual wills. The regulative power must reside not in the collective totality of all the wills, but in individuals selected by those wills as representatives to direct and control the circumstances and conditions under which they are to energize. The evolutionary force does not move in the direction of the Socialistic State, but of freer play for the individual.

(2) True individuality and true freedom can only obtain where the State leaves as much freedom to the individual as is consistent with the safety of the State. Humanity has no collective mind; human progress is due to the free play of inter-human rivalries.

(3) Socialism would put an end to that order of competitive individualism under which European countries have made the enormous advances of the last few centuries. True progress can only be achieved under the same general conditions as have secured the measure of advance thus obtained.

(4) (Some) It is not true that the general development tends to divorce the worker from the means of production. The economic development along with the big factories is continually opening out chances for small people to start independent trades. Moreover, the strength of the peasant proprietor in various parts of Europe is as good as ever, and here it can be shown that small production can secure practically all the advantages of the big, while having that of the individual care and attention. (Some) Even if it were possible to put an end to the economic and social process of differentiation and all

ral tendency, and that only in specific skilled branches, but even these are constantly being narrowed down by new inventions. Peasants and farmers are too often only nominally the owners of their holdings, being as unmercifully exploited by their mortgagees, etc., as any worker by the capitalist. Moreover, the peasants are, as a whole, physically and intellectually stunted by overwork and under-feeding, and can only maintain themselves by exploiting their own children, whose lives are often miserable. These conditions produce class struggles, strikes, lock-outs, and political Labour representation.

(5) The competitive system gives the larger amount of the collective wealth or products of industry to those who "toil not, neither do they spin," but are enabled to levy a tax on the labour of others. The presence in the community of a large number of non-workers, living on the labour of others, entails extra work on the latter, who have to maintain them as well as themselves; and thus, while one class is demoralized by idleness, the other is crushed by excessive work.

(6) The measure of individual wealth, should be the amount of work done by the individual. It is wrong that the capitalist should, owing to his economic position (often obtained by the labours of his ancestors) be in a position to exploit the labour of producers for his own benefit. Under existing conditions, distribution of wealth is not determined by service but by economic position. The man who can secure monopoly values is more certain of a large income than is the greatest genius of the time.

(7) Strict economic justice is not desirable. Genius does not desire wealth, but service: it is its own reward. What is desirable is to ensure to all men, from the highest to the lowest, the essentials to a healthy and happy human life.

(8) The lack of an assured future breeds despair. Why bother about saving when the savings of years

that belongs to it in our present social system, either as cause or effect (class-formation, etc.), such a consummation would not imply an advance in human culture.

(5) It is not true that the present system allows the greater part of the wealth of the country to go to those who do not work. A large portion of the so-called unearned wealth of the rich is derived from money earned by them or their fathers, who, having elected to save instead of spend, have invested it, and are living on the interest thereof. The conclusion to be drawn from the Socialist position is that if a man makes £20,000 by his industry or ability, he may spend the whole sum on fireworks, but if he spends it in perfecting and producing a new loom or printing-press, the State is to confiscate this as being a vital source of permanent unearned income.

(6) The capitalist could not exist without the labourer, but it would be just as true to say that the labourer lives on the capitalist as that the capitalist lives on the labourer, since the former supplies the sinews of war with which the latter produces a commodity. Besides supplying the capital, the capitalist often directs production, furnishing the necessary ability which the labourer lacks. Indeed, most of the profits are the earnings of ability, and rightly belong to the "head" and not to the "hands." The theory that labour alone is the creator of all wealth is a fallacy. It was true, perhaps, 250 years ago, but not under modern industrial conditions. The distinctive feature of capitalism as it exists to-day consists in the withdrawal of the men of exceptional intellect from the business of performing or directing any labour of their own altogether, and the concentration of their powers on the labour of others, the result being that the mental capacities of the few, instead of being confined to the task of guiding their own muscles, lends its guidance to the muscular operations of the many. The profits of the capitalist em-

may be swept away by a single bankruptcy, by illness, etc. ?

(9) While the rich are growing richer and more luxurious day by day, the poor are becoming proportionately poorer. The argument that the poor now have luxuries undreamt of by their fathers is not valid; this may be the case, and yet the fact be true that, of the total increase of the wealth of the country, the poor have received an altogether disproportionate share.

(10) As the smaller capitalists are gradually disappearing, owing to the action of fierce competition, the industry of the country tends to pass into the hands of a few large firms, and thus free competition is steadily inducing a condition under which there will ultimately be a few employers on the one side and a nation of slaves on the other. Investments on the Stock Exchange are all in favour of the large capitalist, who is able to get the best advice and manipulate the markets in the manner of American millionaires.

(11) The creation of a great body of Unemployed, many of whom are neither idlers nor black sheep, is one of the most invariable accompaniments of Capitalism, and is an essential product of its existence, since it forms the reserve on which the capitalist is able to fall back in case of a strike or when trade is very brisk.

(12) As Socialism attains more nearly to its ideal, the need for a bureaucracy will tend to disappear; and it is idle to suggest that the officials could ever outnumber the manual workers.

(13) Crises which render everybody's existence insecure and uncertain are inherent in the capitalist system, and arise from the fact that production for the world's market cannot gauge the limits of consumption, and that production is continually outstripping the effective demand. It seems as if the conditions under private property had become too narrow for the constantly growing accumulation of wealth. Malthus's law of population seems to

ployer have their origin in the fact that in this way commodities in general are multiplied as they never were before, their individual values remaining unaltered in proportion as this multiplication is general, and the sum of the values thus added to the general product forms the fund from which profits are drawn.

(7) It is not the labour of the workers which is the cause of the surplus to be divided between labour and capital, but the machines. The capitalists own the machines. In perfect economic justice it would be the inventors, scientists, etc., who would get the lion's share of the surplus.

(8) Socialism, by guaranteeing to all a livelihood, takes away the most powerful incentive to exertion. Why bother about saving when the savings of years may be swept away to pay for the maintenance of the thriftless? Private enterprise has been the best prerequisite of progress everywhere; wherever, as frequently occurs, you find traces of communism, you find also that it is only in proportion as they get away from it that progress becomes possible or men energetic.

(9) The labourer has shared proportionately in the increase of wealth. Labour, though not entitled to it, has, in the opinion of the ablest statisticians, shared in a much greater degree than capital; besides which, the hours of labour are decreased, and the purchasing power of money is much greater than formerly. The statistics magnifying the disproportions of the wealth of different sections of the community are utterly fallacious. Under our free, individualist social system, none has a fixed status: the same men are both capitalists and workers. Again, in making up the big totals of the wealthy classes, the small incomes, or parts of them, are counted again and again. To a large extent men reputed to be the possessors of great wealth are simply its distributors, e.g., the Bishop of London. The saved wealth of the humbler people prob-



have become obsolete. It is not the population that presses upon the means of subsistence, but, on the contrary, the means of subsistence press upon the nation. Hence the feverish race for new outlets, for consumers, for profitable investments. In former times poverty was actually the result of the inefficiency of the productive forces; to-day poverty is the result of a plethora of wealth. Under Socialism crises would be unthinkable, for the production would be adapted to national consumption, and the needs of the nation could easily be ascertained. Famine and crises arise not from a deficiency of wealth, but from a superfluity owing to the unrestricted competition of individual firms and companies for profit, and of the rank and file of workers for subsistence wages. The mere production of great wealth is no test of social and industrial well-being: the test comes in in the question of distribution.

(14) The regulation of production is not incompatible with freedom of choice as to profession. If it was found that too many people were turning themselves in any one direction, it would always be possible to increase the inducements in other directions by offering more favourable conditions of work, as increase of remuneration, shortening of hours, etc. The dirty work would be remunerated in accordance with its unpleasantness: just as under our present system the hangman is paid higher than any other manual labourer. Short hours, long holidays and handsome treatment will be the portion of those who do it.

(15) No regulation of individual consumption would be necessary. For modern labour is so productive that it could satisfy all needs of a civilized society. Moreover, Socialism, by broadening the basis of consumption, would give individual freedom also to those classes which under the present conditions are poor, and must necessarily regulate very strictly their individual consumption.

ably considerably exceeds 1,000 millions of pounds.

(10) It is untrue that there is a universal tendency to eliminate the small capitalist and business man; now, as formerly, there is always a good chance of success for a small business, when conducted ably and in accordance with the spirit of the age, since it will probably be better supervised in the hands of the actual owner than when trusted to salaried officials. Co-operative enterprise and limited liability companies also offer to small capitalists a field for profitable investment, and thus enable schemes to be developed which no private capital could undertake. The principal gambling, moreover, is not done in the shares of companies which are on a sound basis; hence, while it is possible that the control of a speculative company may be gained by methods similar to those of some American millionaires, this would be impossible in the case of a sound financial concern.

(11) The problem of the Unemployed would still exist under Collectivism, because it is as much a moral as an economic one. In every community idlers and black sheep will always be present, and Collectivism assumes an ideal state of society in which all men are equally good.

(12) The bureaucracy, owing to the number of permanent officials necessary to an elaborate system of production, would eventually outnumber the manual workers, and as their positions involved a degree of permanency, if any standard of production is to be maintained, they would make and unmake the State executive. Thus the manual workers, though nominally possessing the vote-power—would at once cease to have any practical influence on the direction of affairs.

(13) The primary question which presses for solution is not the unequal distribution of wealth, but the production of the wealth to be distributed. The wealth of modern nations depends upon international credit and international trade. Under Capitalism the two virtues

(16) Socialism would have no need to abolish either the fact or the motives for competition, but would leave men free to compete not only for "service," but for high salaries, for position, for authority, and for leisure. Under Capitalism, whilst competition amongst the workers for the means whereby to earn their daily crust becomes keener and keener, competition amongst the capitalists gives way day by day to co-operation. The more production gets into the hands of the big companies, the easier do capitalists find it to form rings, etc., to keep prices up. No legislation can prevent secret agreements, and it pays the capitalists to stick to them. Again, the common practice of adulteration condemns the competitive system. Low prices mean poor goods or adulterated goods. Dishonesty is an essential part of present-day competition. The consumer is not in the position under the complex conditions of modern life to know a genuine article or what is compatible with health in food, dwellings, etc. He cannot be a universal expert. Inspection, etc., only afford insufficient guarantees against people whose interest it is to defraud, and it is hardly a man's interest to be honest with a person whom he may never see again. Voluntary associations can only play a very limited rôle. Socialism does not involve any uniform system of production.

(17) There need be no such thing as confiscation, nor is it probable that there would. As various industries were socialized their owners would be made holders of State bonds. The proletariat once in power would have every inducement to deal generously with their late opponents, especially as the Trusts have shown how enormously production could be raised, and then the old property owners could be easily paid a fixed income, and yet the recompense of labour be greatly increased, and the hours of labour reduced. It must be remembered that the great difficulty of Capitalism is not how to produce but how

necessary to the accumulation of capital—thrift and industry—are encouraged, and the rewards and punishments for the effective direction or non-effective direction of labour respectively are automatic. Under Collectivism the detection of the misdirection of labour becomes a practical impossibility, and thus capital must waste away without the primary cause of its waste being eradicated. Trusts do regulate production, and tend to avoid crises.

(14) The management of the entire production would force the social democratic State, in order to prevent over-production, to abolish the right of the worker freely to choose his profession. Everyone would have to act in accordance with orders. Otherwise, everyone would flock into those professions, etc., which afforded the pleasantest way of life.

(15) The regulation of consumption destroys all freedom of choice, and enslaves everybody, and only through regulation can the production be made exactly to meet the consumption, otherwise the old difficulty must recur. Moreover, everybody would want the best things which, by their nature, are limited.

(16) Socialism would abolish competition, and establish a huge monopoly, which would soon be a most frightful tyranny, only worse, because it was a mob tyranny. Free competition is the only real freedom, in industrial matters, as well as the only guarantee to the consumer that he gets what he wants. The law should regulate to see that fraud is not perpetrated on the consumers, but nothing more. Honesty pays in the general rule. Given a number of labourers, equal in productivity, working for an equal number of hours and receiving as their reward equal shares of the total product, no one group of labourers could augment their own gains in any way except by a successful attack on the gains of all the others. However, so far as form went, an individualist community might be socialized, all the elements

to limit production so as to sell the products at a profit. This difficulty would disappear. There would be no difficulty in providing funds for depreciation of machinery, etc. The compensation which society will accord to the holders of expropriated capital for the purposes of Collectivism will be logically determined by the nature of the new society itself. To-day values allow of the purchase, on the part of their holders, of the means of production and profit; in a transformed society, when the private capital of production and exploitation has been socialized, the compensation that the former capitalists will have received will allow them only to buy the products of transformed social activity.

(18) The existence of idle classes is a direct social evil—whether the idle rich or the idle poor. The so-called services of the former are for the most part the merest diletantism, the work is notoriously very badly done, except when it is of a purely ornamental character. The social influence of the idle classes is pernicious in every way. Their artistic taste is, even when genuine, wholly false, and is generally merely ostentation. Inclined strongly to superstition, belief in luck, and so on, and to barbarianism in their amusements, blood sports, etc., they speedily degenerate. The political leadership of the propertied classes tends more and more to fall to men out of other classes. Their philanthropy demoralizes the proletariat, as their patronage degrades art. It is not to be denied that this class has in the past performed a certain social function, though badly; but it is now become superfluous and noxious.

(19) The existence of large underfed classes forms a breeding ground for disease, etc., which can never disappear so long as poverty encourages it. It is idle to think of doing much with hygiene unless we can get rid of so fruitful a swamp. A nation is at a disadvantage as a military power whose population cannot produce healthy soldiers—

of industrial conflict would survive in it. The only way in which the position of any group of labourers could be improved would be by the advent of some exceptional man. He would demand his special reward. The bargain which a Socialistic State would have to strike, in the interest of the majority, with its exceptionally efficient citizen, would be in its essentials the same as that made to-day under a system of free exchange and competition.

(17) Socialism would involve wholesale confiscation, confiscation would create universal mistrust, and prevent all progress. Theoretically, the State might confiscate all such resources as exist at any given moment, but no one, if it aimed at making this confiscation permanent, would ever accumulate any such resources again. The idea of buying out the entire property-holding class would spell bankruptcy, and, moreover, bring no advantage. It would simply turn what are, in many cases, active workers, into pensioners of the State. Socialists would soon find that people would not work if assured of a living, hence production would soon fall off. Destroy confidence in the future, and the great driving forces of the economic processes are paralysed. The continued progress of Socialism, if translated into a national policy, must drive the owners of liquid capital to domicile elsewhere. On the other hand, the owners of fixed capital and the population that live on their own personal labour would suffer from the consequences of excessive taxation, and the attrition or flight of capital in abnormal quantities. As 95 per cent. of the industries of Great Britain are conducted by credit, any interference with that confidence which gives credit necessarily drives the injured industries to foreign countries who are our competitors in the world's markets.

(18) The so-called idle classes do much valuable social and philanthropic work, which could not be done by any paid official with the same disinterested love. They are, moreover, the upholders of culture

see the number of those rejected as unfit to-day. Socialism substitutes a conscious selection for the unconscious processes of natural selection, by preventing certain individuals from breeding. Also by guaranteeing food to the children much valuable social force would be added to the community in healthy citizens. Natural selection under Capitalism means great social waste. The crude industrial struggle enables some sorts of individual fitness to survive which are socially injurious, and destroys certain types that are socially beneficial. Under Socialism the higher level of physical and social environment will so far improve the general level of human life and character as to effect any damage arising from the stoppage of the elimination of unfit individuals. Again, in the higher evolution of civilization the struggle between fit types of society, nations or races is more important than the struggle between individual and the "fitness" of a society involves the repression of the crude biological struggle among its individual members. The best test of individual fitness involves equality of economic, intellectual and moral opportunities; these can only be secured for all individuals alike by the organized effort of society. A considerable measure of State Socialism is an indispensable condition of that effective struggle for the selection of fit individuals that is desired by the biological sociologist.

(20) The extreme views held by some Socialists with regard to religion and marriage are altogether apart from Socialism itself, and are shared in common with many opponents of Socialism. Under Collectivism, where each member of society would be a worker, excess of population would not exist, since each new-comer would be an additional source of wealth to the community, not the reverse, as now.

(21) By making work obligatory on all men, Collectivism would reduce toil to a minimum for all men, and thus give each individual leisure for self-improvement.

and the patrons of art. From these classes the great statesmen have sprung.

(19) Socialism, by stopping the competitive struggle for life, puts an end to the process of natural selection for the elimination of the unfit; and thus brings progress to a standstill. Those who fail are less desirable types of humanity than those who succeed, being physically, intellectually and even morally inferior. The growth of medical science makes the danger of microbes, etc., less and less. Socialism tends to the maintenance of the unfit.

(20) The existing monogamic relation is simply the outcome of property. Property in children under Socialism would cease to exist, and marriage would be an association terminable at will by either party. So say the Socialists, and thus the family would disappear. Present over-population is due to the recklessness of parents; Collectivism would increase this evil, since no responsibility would attach to the production of children. Or, in the alternative, it involves the control by the State of the domestic concerns of every individual, because if the State guarantees subsistence to all citizens, it is obvious in self-defence it must regulate the numbers of the citizens for which it has to provide.

(21) Under Collectivism a leisured class would not exist; and since we owe some of our noblest work in art, literature, and science to this class, culture and progress would decrease. It is hard to conceive that in a community of workers, where the majority were labourers, endowments for leisured toil would find a place. Were such endowments to exist, all would wish to enjoy them. Who, if not himself, should decide the trade or profession of each individual?

(22) It is almost impossible to conceive how work is to be remunerated save on a competitive basis. Under Collectivism all kinds of work would have to be valued by reducing them to a common

(22) All men would be rewarded according to their work for the community; and while the remuneration would be sufficient to call forth the workers' best energies, the State would not allow them to keep their children in idleness on the results of their labour, nor would it permit them to accumulate claims, in the shape of interest, on the labour of the community. There is no reason to suppose that men, because deprived of the possibility of accumulating wealth, would refuse to give their best work. Under the present competitive system, some of the highest work (e.g. in scholarship, literature, science, politics) is done without thought of remuneration. Love of reputation would replace love of money. Socialism will have to make a general change from the spirit of gain to the spirit of service. The noble impulse to service has only to be set free from the individualistic system which reserves success for those whose desire is to get, for every worker takes a pride in his work. Socialism does not mean equality all round: the principle is "every one according to his deeds"; it means, not equality of distribution but equality of opportunity. Socialists do not expect that economic justice and equality of opportunity will establish equality of individuals.

(23) Between the individual and his *milieu* there is constant action and reaction. The individual acts, it is true, upon the environment, but the social environment also determines the means of action of the individuals, and compels them to change if they would survive. Every advance won has been in the direction of extending the social control of economic forces; every such extension has broadened the basis of social justice: Socialism, by placing economic forces under the control of the community, will abolish all classes founded on economic advantages, and all social injustice now arising from economic dependence.

(24) Socialism is the social interpretation of Christianity, and though

denomination, and that denomination could only be the amount of time spent in the production of commodities. Thus the value of painting a picture or ploughing a field would be gauged by the time spent in obtaining the results, and Collectivism would be possible only if all men were not only equally good, but also equally gifted. One of the chief incentives to labour would be removed if parents were deprived of the wish and ability to provide for their children's advancement. The Christian doctrine of the equality of humanity is an ideal, not a working system. An atmosphere of potential inequality gives free play to all the passions and active powers of man: the hope and prospect of it is their very life. It would make the State the mainspring of character; whereas it is character that must always be the mainspring of the State. The economic and social structures of Socialism presupposes men not only more perfect, but of an entirely different nature than men ever will be.

(2) It is necessary to distinguish between two different elements in the social organization, between the man and the system. The system of the social organization is only and can only be the result of successive human ideas. Arbitrarily to modify the social organization, without troubling to find out whether the man is in a condition to adapt himself to it, can only lead to disorder.

(24) Socialism is atheistic. "Mind," says Mr. Hyndman, "is itself a function of matter" (*National Review*, March, 1908). The Socialists as a party desire secular education in the national schools. (See EDUCATION, SECULAR.)

(25) Socialism is international, and does not recognize national distinctions. Germany, driven by resistless economic pressure to find outlets for its commerce and population, will not allow Great Britain to own without challenge a quarter of the earth's surface, and to quietly enjoy the resources accumulated

some individual Socialists may be atheists, there is no connexion between atheism and Socialism.

(25) Under Socialism war will be a thing of the past.

(26) The English, German, and French Post Offices are examples among many others of what a State can accomplish in Government administration on communistic lines.

(27) The growth of limited liability companies every day proves more and more clearly how superfluous the capitalist class has become. A few years ago it was prophesied that these could only succeed in banking, now it has extended over the entire field of industry. It is idle to talk of incentive to enterprise when the business is managed by a salaried official. Even the directors are salaried officials. The ratepayers have just as much interest in a municipal enterprise as the shareholders in a company. There is no such great difference between the private trust and the public function as is alleged. The business managers of a trust are trading with other people's money, and are subject to exactly the same motives for energetic action and careless neglect as an official.

(28) The experience of the last century has shown that if certain kinds of property—land, for instance—the use of which is essential to the community is held by private individuals, the community will suffer, because naturally those individuals will make the pressing nature of the communal needs an opportunity for securing an increasing share of the national income for themselves. Wherever there is an absence of restriction on employers, it is a regrettable but undeniable fact that the majority take advantage of their employés. Both employers and employés are victims of a vicious system.

## SPORT

*Sport is here used in the sense of field sports—shooting, hunting, and fishing.*

**Pro :** (1) Sport is one of the best elements in our national life, tend-

during a thousand years of strenuous individualism.

(20) The English Post Office is in no sense, save that it belongs to the State, a Socialistic institution. It is merely a large business worked for a profit. It cannot be argued that because the State successfully transacts the business of carrying letters, it would therefore succeed in managing the whole business of the country.

(27) It would lead to waste: there is not the same constant watchfulness with regard to economies in management which animates all successful business enterprise in the spending of moneys which are not owned by any one in particular but by all in common. Limited liability companies are governed by the interests of the shareholders. The directors must be shareholders, and generally hold a substantial share. That is very different from the general interest of ratepayers, which is much more remote and difficult to arouse.

(28) The shortcomings of employés, who take advantage of considerate employers, are greater than those of the employers.

**Con :** (1) No question of "manliness" can justify men in killing



ing to keep the race hardy and manly, and to maintain the idea that physical strength is an object to be aimed at. It does for England what military exercises attempt to do for the great Continental nations.

(2) There is comparatively little cruelty about "blood" sports.

(3) In many ways Sport obviates the evil effects of city life by bringing man closer to nature and to an observation of her ways; this is so especially in shooting and fishing.

(4) The keen sportsman does not mind undergoing a very large amount of discomfort in pursuit of it, and this calls out in him the power of sacrificing the present to the future, one of the signs of the superiority of man over the brutes.

(5) Sport encourages the growth of the powers of observation, of quick calculation, and of rapid decision.

(6) The chief objections to Sport are made on behalf of so-called humanitarianism, which claims that animals should be admitted to "rights," and be regarded as existing for their own ends. Man can tolerate the existence of animals only in so far as they subserve his aims, and those which are either useless or harmful to men must disappear. We cannot tolerate poisonous animals on the ground of some kindness owed by us to them. Rights must be reciprocal, or they cannot exist. (See ANIMALS, RIGHTS OF.)

(7) Sport has been an element in the spread of civilization and in giving us a knowledge of unexplored parts of the world. It has given to the English that roving spirit which has placed them in the forefront of the nations of the world.

(8) If Sport were abolished there would be a large amount of widespread distress among many hard-working classes of the community. In 1891 the sum spent annually in England alone by the masters of hounds was estimated at £268,000.

animals *merely to gratify their pleasure.* Games like football, cricket, polo, etc., are more efficacious than Sport proper in promoting the manliness of the race.

(2) There are many unnecessary and absolutely brutal practices still frequently used by people who think themselves "good sportsmen," e.g., the digging out of foxes, the hunting of hares too late in the season, etc. It is not only the suffering of the victims which must be taken into account, but the demoralizing conditions under which the slaughter is carried on.

(3) The study of nature through the methods of science will give a much deeper and better knowledge of nature than the stray notes of the sporting man.

(4) Whatever may have been the case in the past, Sport is now largely accompanied by luxury of all kinds.

(5) The powers of observation, etc., can be cultivated without recourse to brutalizing methods.

(6) The denial of rights to animals involves the denial of rights to men, since the evolution theory has shown the error of assuming that there is any difference of kind between the two. The fact of treating animals as a means to their own gratification is demoralizing to men. Animals must be seen to have ends of their own in nature before man can really advance in his knowledge of nature. As in astronomy the geocentric, so in biology the anthropocentric view must be abandoned. (See ANIMALS, RIGHTS OF.)

(7) While Sport in the past may have opened out many lands, and thus have promoted the spread of civilization, yet in the future it will probably be found that it will sink into the background, especially as the world advances in civilization.

(8) The tremendous waste of the national resources on Sport is a scathing testimony to the folly of blood sports.

## SUGAR CONVENTION, SHALL THE BRUSSELS, BE DENOUNCED?

The International Sugar Convention, signed March 5, 1902, came into force under the Sugar Convention Act on September 1, 1903. Its general purpose is the abolition of sugar bounties, direct and indirect, and to this end it provides (1) for the Government supervision of sugar factories and refineries; (2) for the limitation of the surtax (or excess of the rate of the import duty over that of excise duty) to not more than 6 francs per 100 kilos; (3) for the taxation or prohibition of the importation of bounty-fed sugar (but not as between Great Britain and her self-governing colonies); (4) for the admission of sugar from the contracting States and their non-bounty-giving Colonies at their lowest tariff rate; and (5) for the establishment of a permanent Commission to supervise the execution of the Convention.

**Pro:** (1) The Convention deprives England of the great advantages to be derived from free sugar, in order to confer a quite disproportionate insignificant benefit on the West Indian Colonies. The Convention has very seriously affected the confectionery, biscuit and allied trades, and of the increased cost of sugar to English purchasers not more than a tenth benefits the West Indian sugar growers. The actual results of the Convention have been a decrease in the export of sugar from the West Indies, more especially to the United Kingdom. The chief outlet for West Indian sugar during the period has been Canada, which has never been in the Convention.

(2) Before the Convention was signed sugar-refining had not declined in England. Though the number of sugar-refining firms had decreased, the output remained the same. Since the Convention the quantity of sugar consumed that is refined in this country is very slightly greater, and the number of refineries has actually decreased.

(3) The sugar refiners in the West Indies adhere to obsolete methods, wasting about a third of the total product.

(4) The policy is one of Protection pure and simple, and open to all the same objections.

(5) If foreign countries chose to give bounties they only injured themselves.

(6) Without the Convention foreign Governments were getting tired of supplying England with cheap sugar, for which their own

**Con:** (1) So long as England refused to enter into a Sugar Convention, and allowed herself to be swamped by foreign bounty-fed sugar, the sugar growers and refiners in the West Indies were reduced to the verge of bankruptcy. The confectionery trade has no ground for complaint. It was getting its sugar on the same terms as the trade obtained in other countries. Even if some benefit can be shown to have accrued to certain trades in England, it must be remembered that such benefit was very uncertain, and depended on the caprice of others; and that, in the meantime, an industry was being destroyed, and a Colony being driven to revolt by the apathy of the Home Government.

(2) Sugar-refining, which formerly was a trade carried on in England, has dwindled to infinitesimal proportions.

(3) The sugar refiners of the West Indies have laid down the most expensive plant, and adopted the most approved and economical methods of production. It is unreasonable to expect them to compete successfully against such a highly artificial state of affairs as was created by the foreign Bounties.

(4) Protection to the extent of the Bounty is not Protection in any known sense of the word—it is simply a resolution on the part of England to accept no benefits which mean the ruin of a Colonial industry.

(5) In securing trade equality, the Convention conformed to the principle of free trade. It maintained the natural course of production

people had to pay three or four times the price, to the great encouragement of the English trades depending on cheap sugar.

(7) The object which the Convention has in view has never varied, it is simply to raise the price of sugar by restricting the area of supply, and in that object it has succeeded. For six years previous to 1902 the price of sugar had gradually diminished; for the six years since 1902 there has been an equally steady rise. The loss to the country has been about £8,000,000 per annum. It is cheaper to assist the Colonies by money grants than by the methods adopted.

(8\*) The Convention sacrificed the interests of Great Britain to those of a few of the less important Colonies. It locked "the open door" of commerce, and put the key into the hands of a European syndicate. It destroyed the independence of British finance, and might at any time upset the estimates.

(9\*) The Convention has led to a retaliatory tariff on the part of Russia directed against British-grown tea.

and exchange with which Bounties had previously interfered. Bounties were an aggressive form of Protection, designed to capture foreign markets. If they were allowed to set up a monopoly in the sugar trade, prices would increase largely.

(6) Foreign Governments, far from abandoning Bounties, were, when the Convention was signed, increasing them, and there was no sign that such Bounties were unpopular.

(7) The previous low prices of sugar were due to artificial causes. Imperial subsidies are the only alternative to the Convention so far as the West Indies are concerned.

*See also* TARIFF REFORM.

## SUICIDE, IS, IMMORAL ?

**Pro :** (1) Suicide is wrong, because a man's life, being a gift from God, belongs to God, and God has reserved to Himself the right to say how long a man shall live, and when he shall die.

(2) Suicide is at variance with the natural instincts of mankind, which prompt healthy-minded men to take a pleasure in life, with all its opportunities for happiness.

(3) Suicide is a dereliction of duty on the part of any member of society. "We are all members one of another," and should make ourselves useful members of the community to which we all belong. Incurable disease even is not a sufficient excuse for suicide. The progress of medical science renders it impossible to say what diseases really are incurable.

**Con :** (1) Many religions have commended Suicide. Neither in the Old nor in the New Testament is Suicide condemned, nor was it denounced by the Christian Church till the Council of Arles, A.D. 623. Suicide was common among the earlier Christians, and some who died thus have been canonized.

(2) Natural instincts are no guide to conduct: the whole progress of medicine is a rebellion against nature.

(3) So far from being a dereliction of duty, Suicide may be a fulfilment of a duty; for instance, where a man is suffering from an incurable disease, and is likely to become a burden on others.

(4) Suicide involves a considerable amount of courage and will-power; where this is not so, and the

(4) Advance and progress are possible only through struggling with adverse circumstances, and such struggle alone moulds character; the man who, when things look their blackest, resolves to face out his difficulties has a finer character than he who deserts life.

(5) The law which punishes attempts at suicide is a useful law. It is a great deterrent, and the person who has once gone through the police court is not likely to renew the attempt.

perpetrator has committed Suicide in order to evade the law, etc., society does not lose much; she is at least saved the maintenance of a criminal or weakling.

(5) The law which makes the attempt to commit Suicide a crime should be repealed. The main purpose it serves is to afford an opportunity to those who sham an attempt to bring their cases before the public in the hope of receiving assistance. Suicide is not an anti-social act, and the law should only treat that as a crime which is anti-social.

### SUNDAY CLOSING OF PUBLIC-HOUSES

**Pro :** (1) Public houses should be closed throughout Sunday. Wages being paid on Saturday, labourers naturally gravitate on Sunday to the only place of enjoyment open to them; hence Sunday drinking is probably heavier than that of any other day of the week.

(2) It is wrong to tempt the working-classes, who should be protected as far as possible.

(3) Drinking is bad for a man's work; and consequently Monday has earned the name of "Blue Monday," as on it men recover from the effects of their Sunday's debauch. Even when they go to work, the work is of an inferior quality.

(4) The liquor trade is the only important one which has the privilege of trading on Sundays.

(5) Sunday opening is a hardship to the employés and employées as well as to their principals, who are compelled by competition to do as others do.

(6) The clubs of the rich are different. Drinking is merely incidental to them, and clubs are less frequented on Sunday than on any other day.

(7) Sunday Closing has been a success in some of the Colonies.

(8) Bonâ-fide travellers could get their needs satisfied at tea-shops, etc.

**Con :** (1) Sunday Closing would not prevent excessive drinking on Sundays. In Scotland, where the Closing obtains, Sunday drinking is often the heaviest of the week; drinkers lay in a store of liquor on Saturday night, and consume it at home. It also leads to secret drinking in the Public-houses.

(2) It is unwise to treat working men as though they were children. The greater the liberty given to grown-up men and women, the greater their education; where there is no temptation there is no virtue.

(3) The absence of a workman from his work on "Blue Monday" causes him a loss of wages. If a workman chooses to sacrifice a day's wages to his own pleasures, and his employer does not object, it is not for the State to interfere.

(4) Business is permitted in several other trades, e.g. eating-houses, tobacco shops.

(5) Public house employés receive a holiday on some other day of the week as compensation for the partial loss of their Sunday. Publicans are their own masters, and if they do not take holidays it is because they prefer to earn money.

(6) The rich have their clubs; why should the poor not have their places of social intercourse and enjoyment?

(7) Sunday Closing, wherever introduced, has been disastrous.

(8) It would be very hard on bonâ-fide travellers.

# TARIFF REFORM

The following were the successive steps in the abolition of Protective Import duties in Great Britain :—

1842. *First Instalment*.—Peel inaugurates the Free Trade movement by the following measures—

- (1) Export duties abolished.
- (2) Prohibitions upon imports removed.
- (3) Prohibitive Customs reduced to "fair competitive" rates.
- (4) Fully manufactured goods admitted at fair competitive rates.
- (5) Half-manufactured goods admitted at moderate rates.
- (6) Raw materials admitted at a nominal duty.

For a full exposition of Sir Robert Peel's scheme, see *Hansard*, vol. lxiii, p. 351.

1845. *Second Instalment*.—The first measure had found a tariff extending to 1,052 different articles, and had left it with 813, including the raw materials upon which the so-called "nominal duties" were levied. Sir Robert Peel's second instalment of Free Trade reform moved 430 of these articles—most of them raw materials—from the list, setting our imports to that extent wholly free. The most important of these omissions was that which put "cotton wool" on a level with home-grown sheep's wool, and so laid the foundation of our modern cotton industry. As a complement to this scheme for liberating foreign trade, certain Excise duties, and notably the auction and glass duties, were abolished, thus greatly freeing the home trade as well. (See *Hansard*, vol. lxxvii, p. 479.)

1846. *Third Instalment*.—This was the celebrated Repeal of the Corn Laws, which, passed in this year, is always dated of this year, although it should rather be dated 1849, when the Repealing Act went into force.

1853. *Fourth Instalment*.—Eight years' experience having now been had of the partial reforms above enumerated, the Government of the day felt justified in taking another cautious step, and this time they remitted Customs duties on 123 articles altogether, and reduced them on 148 more. Equal reform was effected in the home trade by the remission of the Excise duties on soap, newspaper advertisements, hackney carriages, post-horses, and some other smaller items. The principle of this reform was—

- (1) To abolish unproductive taxes and taxes on partly manufactured articles.
- (2) To reduce to about 10 per cent. the taxation on fully manufactured articles and articles of food.
- (3) To substitute rated duties for duties *ad valorem*.

For a full exposition of this scheme see Mr. Gladstone's speech, *Hansard*, vol. cxxv, p. 1404.

1860. *Fifth Instalment*.—This, which may be said to have crowned the Free Trade edifice, struck 371 items off the tariff, and left us with only two Protective duties—those on timber and corn—which disappeared in their turn. (See *Hansard*, vol. clvi, p. 823.)

## The Tariff Reform Proposals—

Mr. Chamberlain's original proposals made at Glasgow on October 6, 1903, were :—

- (1) Proposed new taxes—
  - (i) 2s. a quarter on foreign (not colonial) corn, except maize; (ii) corresponding tax on foreign flour; (iii) 5 per cent. on foreign meat, except bacon; (iv) 5 per cent. on foreign dairy produce; (v) 10 per cent. on the average on completely manufactured foreign goods.

(2) Taxes to be relieved—

- (i) Three-quarters of the duty off tea; (ii) half the duty off sugar; (iii) half the duty off coffee and cocoa; (iv) preference to colonial wines and fruits

The most recent authoritative utterance is in the *Birmingham Daily Post* of December 8, 1909, where the proposals are—

- (1) A 10 per cent. general tariff on all goods other than raw materials, varying from 5 per cent. on goods on which little labour has been spent to 15 per cent. on completely manufactured articles.

(2) A preference in respect of the above to Colonial goods, on the basis that where foreign produce is subject to a 10 per cent. rate Colonial goods be admitted on a 7½ per cent. rate.

(3) Corn to be liable to a duty of 2s. per quarter when coming from a foreign country.

- (4) Flour to pay a higher duty owing to labour having been spent upon it.  
 (5) Bacon and maize to be subject to a duty.

### Generally

**Pro :** (1) It is in the interest of the future development of the nation that an investigation should be instituted to discover how far the present policy of Free Trade is to the nation's advantage, or whether it is possible or advisable to change it. Those who feel that no benefit will arise from a change of policy have at least no need to fear an inquiry, provided their theory is sound; otherwise, we have every reason to prefer truth to the prejudices of individuals, and the truth can be reached only by inquiry.

(2) The mere fact that so large a portion of our population lives on the verge of starvation after sixty years of Free Trade shows how necessary it is that we should at least institute an inquiry to see how far it is possible to improve matters, and when we consider that Great Britain alone of all the great civilized powers has not accepted some sort of system of tariffs, only a bigot or a faddist can deny the reasonableness of any inquiry into this subject.

(3) Free Trade is not the real cause of the increase in our wealth, which is due to the extension of railways, telegraphs, improvements in machinery, etc. France, Germany and the United States are examples of prosperity under the Protective system. The late Duke of Devonshire, himself a Free Trader, in fact admitted this, when in 1877 he said: "It may be said—I think it is no exaggeration to say it—that almost all the progress this country has made in the last half-century is mainly due to the development of the railway system." The Board of Trade returns are no sure guide to our progress as a manufacturing people. They ignore home trade. They give values only. They do not give quantities, nor do they show profits nor the amount of labour employed. Raw material has generally increased in cost by about 25 per cent. since 1896.

**Con :** (1) There can be no objection to an inquiry by a Royal Commission if it be only thorough and impartial.

(2) Free Trade has not accomplished everything, and social reform is no doubt urgently required; but in the meantime we can at least abstain from making bad worse by raising artificially the price of the necessities of life for those who are, as has been shown, already living on a standard below that necessary to maintain their efficiency. The condition of our working classes is, however, much better than appears at first sight, as is shown by the statistics of consumption, by savings banks accounts, etc., and wages are higher in England than in any Protectionist country with the possible exception of the U.S.A.

(3) The Board of Trade returns, the clearing house returns, income-tax returns and railway traffic receipts all show that the trade of Great Britain has a strong tendency to steadily increase. The returns of home trade so far as known prove that in most trades our imports represent only a small fraction of home production, and are generally less than our exports. The increase in the wealth of England is not due to the extension of railways, etc., but the abolition of Protective duties. For many years before the adoption of Free Trade, our trade was almost at a standstill. Moreover, Protective countries are passing through a severer period of depression than we are. The United States are not an example of prosperity under Protection, since America is self-supporting, and has enormous resources. The condition of the workers in Germany is much worse than in England. The increase in her trade is mainly due to her enormous deposits of iron ore. Her resort to a tariff policy occurred almost simultaneously with the perfecting of the Gilchrist-Thomas process whereby these deposits (consisting chiefly of hæmatite



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In many cases the increased cost appears twice over in the official returns: when the British merchant has imported raw material he has paid a higher price, and this has been set out in the returns of imports; a large portion of this raw material has been afterwards exported in a manufactured or semi-manufactured state, and the merchant has added to his selling price the increased cost of his raw material, and thus the appreciation in value which has already been set down in the return of imports again operates to produce an apparent expansion in exports.

(4) Under Free Trade, English agriculture has been ruined. The average area under corn crops in this country has declined since 1871 to 1875 by 23 per cent. and in the case of wheat alone by 50 per cent., while the production of home-fed meat has fallen by 19 per cent. Agricultural capital has depreciated by well over £800,000,000 during the last thirty years, while in the last fifty years those employed in agriculture have fallen from two to less than one million. Our country population, the physical backbone of the nation, has dwindled to such an extent that England is now a nation of factory-workers and town-dwellers, and in consequence the national physique has deteriorated to such an extent as to become dangerous to the nation. The increased market which manufacturers would secure under a tariff system would enable them by an increased output to lower the cost of manufactures.

(5) Free Trade must be bilateral and universal, which is not the case now. England has opened her ports to all nations, but no nations have opened their ports to her; hence our manufacturers cannot place their goods on foreign markets at rates which compete with local industries, while foreign countries compete freely here. Free Trade means the free and unrestricted exchange of all things, whether it be the exchange of one commodity for another, or of so much labour

iron) became workable. Education, science, and thrift are all more general than in England. French trade is not improving at anything like the same rate as British—her exports of manufactures are either decreasing or stagnant—any increase is due to an increase in the export of raw materials.

(4) Tariff Reform would not assist agriculture: duties high enough to afford any effective protection would not be tolerated by the English people; and the increased cost of agricultural implements, manufactured manures, feeding stuff, etc., would sound the death-knell of the agricultural population. Even were this not the case, Protection would enrich only the landlords, not the farmers, as rents would rise in most cases at once—yearly agreements having almost universally supplanted leases—in any case at the expiration of the lease. Denmark has shown what a country can do without Protection for agriculture. The universal experience of other countries shows that the factory-workers are a better type of man for military service than the peasant or the agricultural labourer. The townsman has more intelligence than the countryman. What is wanted to prevent racial degeneration is the decentralization of industry from the town to the country, as is more and more happening, and the enforcement of the Factory Acts. Large trade does not necessarily mean large factories.

(5) Obstacles in the way of trade are bad; hence any freeing of markets is better than none, and partial Free Trade is of great benefit to England. Owing to it England has become the great market of the world, to the great gain of her merchants and shipowners. 100 million pounds' worth of foreign and colonial goods are handled by Britain acting as an entrepôt or storehouse.

(6) Whatever the expectations of the promoters were, they prove nothing as to the validity of Free Trade. Moreover, Cobden rested

for so much wages. And so, although in the case of many commodities we have, it is true, free imports, yet we have not got Free Trade, while in the labour world the policy obtaining is a contradiction to the fundamental doctrines of Free Traders. In the words of Cobden, a Free Trader ought as soon to live under the Dey of Algiers as under a system of trades unionism.

(6) It is quite clear from the speeches of Cobden that Free Trade was adopted in the hope that other nations would follow our example, and that thus international Free Trade would follow, and not merely a one-sided policy of free imports. When Free Trade, so called, was preached and adopted in England, it was considered that this country had been designed by Providence as the factory of the world for all time: that certain climates, soils and races were specially designed for special forms of production. At that time no one imagined that research would reveal such vast and hidden resources in countries then comparatively undeveloped. Nobody perceived the great possibilities that lay in the direction of cheap and rapid transit. England is no longer the factory of the world; almost every one of her industries has to contend with the keenest competition of rival nations. Industrial progress abroad has entirely vitiated the principal prophecy which led to the introduction of our so-called Free Trade system.

(7) Partial Free Trade benefits protected countries; hence England damages herself for the good of others. The British working-man *quid* producer is made to suffer to benefit the British working-man *quid* consumer; and is told to console himself for his lack of employment and destitution by reflecting on the fact that if he had any money he could buy commodities cheap. It is abundantly clear that, after deducting his expenditure from his wages, the British working-man is not in so good a

his advocacy of Free Trade on its use for England, and in no way on the probability of its being adopted by other nations.

(7) England imports goods for her own benefit, not for that of others. In many cases foreign goods are sold in England at lower prices than in the country of manufacture. This means that the foreign consumer is made to pay more in order that the British consumer may have cheap goods. One great result is our great re-export trade and the financial supremacy of London.

(8) Commodities are now taxed only for the sake of revenue. The aim of all English financial legislation is to remove duties, not to impose them. The differential duty in the case of both cocoa and tobacco is imposed in order to levy an equivalent duty upon the corresponding amount of the unmanufactured used in making the manufactured article.

(9) Tariff Reform is an *alias* under which Protection is going to slip in upon us. Once protective duties are imposed the universal tendency is to extend their imposition to every article.

(10) Circumstances differ for the different nations, but it has got to be proved that other nations have prospered in consequence of, and not despite, their adoption of Protection. Protection grows on Governments, because it is an easy way of raising money; and in the second place a tariff calls into being a class of interested people who batten on it, and who as a rule, having great influence, use it to maintain a state of affairs which brings them personal profit, even if loss to the community. England's partial Free Trade is of the greatest possible benefit to her. If America adopted Free Trade, she would be able successfully to compete with us in nearly all our markets. In America, Germany and Austria the democracy is rising up against the tariffs. Labour is everywhere opposed to Protection. England's prosperity was not built up under Protection. In 1840 our manu-

position, nor is his balance (if any) so large as that of the working-man in other countries.

(8) Absolute Free Trade does not obtain even in England, and there is no reason why Protective duties should not be further extended. Cocoa and tobacco are protected industries: in each case there is a higher duty on manufactured than unmanufactured imports.

(9) Tariff Reform does not mean the adoption of a policy of Protection in its old sense. It means what it says, namely, a reform in our Tariffs, i.e., a rearrangement of our list of duties in the way best calculated to benefit the nation from all points of view.

(10) England is the only Free Trade country in the world. The fact that we remain isolated, and that the British Colonies and other nations so advanced as Germany or so democratic as America have not followed us, ought to cause us to consider how far we are right in blindly clinging to theories put forward in the past, at a time when the world's commerce was still undeveloped. In no science have the old theories been so completely discredited as in that of Political Economy. It was by a policy of strict Protection that Great Britain became great, developed her manufactures and obtained control of all the markets of the world.

(11) We object to the actual presence among us of the cheapest foreign labour, though in that case we should benefit by the circulation in the country of the wages the workers earn. We find here legislation protecting Labour, such as the Factories Acts, and Acts prohibiting sweated labour: and yet we do not object to the introduction of the products of the cheapest foreign labour. Can anything be more absurd? (Some) When goods produced under a high standard of living come into competition with similar goods produced under a low standard of living, producers under the former system must give way.

factures were being killed by foreign competition. In 1836 American and European manufacturers worked up about three-quarters of the cotton imported into this country. Exports of silk and wool were gradually declining. Under Protection we bought many of our ships from foreigners and exported none. In 1907 we exported 10 millions and imported £27,000.

(11) The objection to the cheap foreign labourer is not that his employment cheapens production, but that it lowers the general standard of living in this country. It is significant that the cheap foreign labour which we try to keep out flows from Protected countries.

Viewed economically (Protection)

(12) Free Trade was, perhaps, the best policy for the development of British trade, when it was adopted, but since then the conditions have altered. England no longer holds her old position in the world's market; other nations have advanced, notably Germany and America, which have seriously challenged her supremacy. Moreover, other nations, so far from adopting Free Trade, as it was hoped they would, have universally adopted Protection, so that while England is subjected in her own markets to the competition of the world, she is carefully excluded by other nations from competing in their markets on even terms.

(13) The export trade of foreign countries has lately increased proportionately more than ours; and while, as a result of their protective duties, our exports to them decline, their exports to us increase. Our imports have risen steadily, and there is reason to think that we are growing more and more indebted to the foreigners, since the surplus is being more and more paid with capital, or raw material, such as coal. No one proposes to tax raw materials, but it is essential that we should tax manufactured goods which directly compete with our own, especially in those cases where foreign trusts dump down on this country goods at a ridiculously low figure, in order to obtain the monopoly here, ruining our industry. By the imposition of a small duty thereon one of two consequences must result—either the foreign manufacturers continue to come in (in which case they will contribute to the revenue), or the goods will be made in Great Britain (which will necessitate the spending of the purchase money here, and since 70 per cent. at least of the cost price of any article goes in wages, will particularly benefit the working-man.)

(14) Our imports are largely in excess of our exports. Consequently we must be living on our

(12) Sir Robert Peel, on introducing his policy, founded it expressly on the fact that he was tired of waiting on other nations, and warned us against the notion that we were to expect other nations to follow our example; and experience has shown that the best way to fight Tariffs is by Free Trade. Nations cannot only export; they must import as well. In fact, that is the only object of exports for the nation.

(13) Our exports are increasing more rapidly than any other nation's. The great part of the increase in our imports consists of raw material, which is a sign of prosperity on the Tariff Reformers' own showing. The revenue returns absolutely disprove the fallacious assertion which has been made for many years that our imports are being paid for out of capital, and that hence we are living on income. In point of fact, freights, incomes from foreign investments, etc., make up an enormous amount, which is hard to estimate, but can be estimated by the income-tax returns, which assuredly are never too high. There is no evidence that there is any deliberate attempt to injure British industry by continuous under-selling; from its very nature dumping (which has never been practised on a large scale) cannot be continuous.

(14) Though our imports exceed our exports, we have a large market for our goods at home, and we are not living on our capital. The difference between imports and exports represents the profit and interest earned by the English manufacturers. Our imports have long exceeded our exports: we must therefore, if this is true, have long been bankrupt.

(15) The Tariff Reformers cling to the exploded economic theory that exports are the be-all and end-all of international trade, and that upon them as taking the initiative the imports—a necessary evil—depend, whereas in fact in the logical

capital, and such action leads to bankruptcy.

(15) The formula that all imports are paid for by exports means no more than that every debit must have a credit, which is not the same as saying that every loss is balanced by a profit. Our position is not a sound one if the things we import provide a profit to the foreigner, while the things we export leave us no profit. If a large part of our exports consists of coal and other commodities on which very little skilled labour is expended, and our imports consist of manufactured articles, the production of which provides the means of subsistence for a large number of people, we are not greatly benefited by our large imports and exports. Under Free Trade our profits are being gradually eliminated.

(16) If we adopted Tariff Reform, and imposed duties on the imports of foreign commodities, we should be able to negotiate fairer commercial treaties, and eventually should "buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest," i.e. with the greatest amount of profit to ourselves, for it must be remembered that the common Free Trade phrase of "selling in the dearest market" is a question, which is: What is the profit made? or, in other words, What does the profit and loss account in the national balance sheet show? The chief purpose of a nation's foreign commerce has nothing to do with a trader's profit, for it consists in sustaining and developing as much as possible a nation's power of production. The power to produce wealth is of more value than wealth itself.

(17) Free Trade tends to the destruction of our industries, which, once lost, could never be revived, as other countries would have obtained our markets; the ruin of England would result. Foreign manufacturers are able to attack our market by having behind them the security of their own market, with free access to British markets.

(18) In consequence of the unfair

order of events export depends upon import, and not vice versa. Exports represent payment for imports. Again, to argue superficially from a decrease of exports to a given country a weakening of the relation of vendor and purchaser, or a diminution of business, is utterly unsound. A decrease of exports to a particular country may mean nothing more than a disinclination to invest capital in that country for the time being. In fact, the chief increase in our exports is in manufactured articles, in our imports raw materials.

(16) All our classic economists are agreed that the most important purpose is for a nation's traders to get as much profit as possible by the exchange of commodities with other countries, or in other words, to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. It is only under Free Trade that we can "buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest."

(17) England successfully competes with foreigners in foreign markets; the remedy for depression in trade is not Tariff Reform, but fresh markets and improved methods of production. More than once a depressed trade in Britain, e.g. the boot trade, has been enabled to recover by the importation of cheap foreign machinery.

(18) Against the industries which have been transferred to foreign countries in consequence of hostile tariffs must be set the industries which have been established in this country in consequence of the cheaper prices of raw material, etc.

(19) If foreigners are able successfully to compete with us at home, it only proves that our costs of production are too high. If Tariff Reform were adopted Protection to be equitable must be extended to all articles of industry—a suicidal policy for a country that depends on imports for necessities of life.

(20) Germany's trade developed most under treaties formed on the Caprivi Tariff in 1893, which granted a great reduction in the duties on

competition allowed by our law. English manufacturers have found it necessary to remove their businesses to countries like the United States, etc., where they are secure of at least one market. That much money is thus lost to this country merely in wages, etc., is undoubted. By the introduction of a Tariff System we should secure that in the same way the foreign manufacturer would have to erect factories, etc., in this country in order to obtain our market. In some cases enterprising foreign firms did actually do this in anticipation of the return of a Tariff Reform Government to power before the General Election of January, 1910.

(19) England does not import only necessary articles. Foreign countries by retaining the control of their own markets, and being thus in a position to increase their production immensely, can compete with us in our own markets in goods which we can manufacture satisfactorily ourselves, and in so far as these can be classified under the head of luxuries, it is the aim of the Tariff Reform policy to put a tolerably heavy tax thereon, so that either the competing foreigner must pay heavily for the privilege of our markets, or the goods will be manufactured in England by Englishmen.

(20) That Protection is not incompatible with the industrial development of a country is proved by the prosperity of Germany, America, and other countries which, so far from relaxing their tariffs, are continually raising them.

(21) Protection has not been incompatible with the development of a powerful shipping industry in Germany; in fact, it gives the Government a power to grant subventions to such shipping, and to keep it out of the hands of foreign syndicates. Britain gained her maritime supremacy under a policy of stringent Protection; under a protective policy for its shipping, the marine of the United States grew and prospered so greatly that in the Forties it became a formidable

America enjoys such a unique position that it does not at all follow that the same consequences would accompany a like policy here. French trade under the Méline high Protective tariff has progressed much more slowly than Germany's under the "Caprivi era" of lower duties. The fact that the tariffs are continually being raised only shows the corrupting influence of protected manufactures, and the impossibility of democracy controlling the Government in a protected country.

(21) Protection would be incompatible with the prosperity of the shipping industry, on which our power in so large a degree depends. Experience shows that nowhere can ships be so cheaply built or fitted up as in Great Britain. Shipping is far better without subsidies. It is, moreover, impossible to prevent secret agreements by which foreign syndicates obtain the real control, while leaving the nominal provision in the hands of others. A corporation with enormous capital at its back, such as the American trusts, will not be checked by paper provisions of any kind, short of Government ownership. Between 1840-60 the wooden sailing ship began to be replaced by the iron steamship. It was the heavy American duties on iron which turned the scale in favour of Britain. We now build two out of every three ships built in the world, thanks to the existence of a great shipping trade founded on free imports, and to free access to raw materials.

(22) The rate of wages in America has been much more influenced by the Aliens Exclusion Act than by the tariff. On the average the American wages are not higher than those paid in England, relatively to the cost of living. The cost of living in America is increasing at a greater rate than wages. None of the figures showing unemployment in the various countries are properly comparable, owing to the different industries, etc., included. A careful analysis of the figures tends to show that unemployment is worse in



rival to that of England, and its decline now is due to the abandonment of that protective policy. As regards its shipping, the policy of Great Britain at the present day is far more protective than that of the United States.

(22) The experience of workmen shows that the conditions of life in America are better than in England. The wages are more than double, and, as the cost of living is not proportionately greater, the margin of profit is much larger. Statistics show that whilst the cost of living in America between 1897 and 1907 had increased by 22 per cent., wages had increased by over 31 per cent. Again there is much less unemployment in America and Germany than in England, and the English workman who is employed for only nine months in the year in order to arrive at the true value of his wages must divide them by  $\frac{9}{12}$ .

(23) The distribution of wealth in England is becoming more and more unequal, the rich growing richer, and the poor poorer, while the converse is the case in protected countries.

(24) The consumer and producer are so closely connected that any injury to the trade of the latter at once reacts on the former; in slackness of trade it is the consumer who is most affected, since his livelihood depends on the producer; hence any action that revives trade would increase the prosperity of all. Commodities would not ultimately rise in price: by being enabled to obtain control of the home market, home manufacturers would be producing on a much larger scale. When things are produced in large quantities, they are produced cheaply and can be sold cheaply. The imposition of a small protective tax has often had the effect of lowering prices. The manufacturer will still be open to fair (though not to unfair) competition, and it is competition that keeps the prices down.

(25) Even if the price of commodities rose, the consumer would in the long run be a gainer, since the

the United States than in England.

(23) Though it may be true that the poor are daily becoming poorer, it is undeniable that under Free Trade they are much better off than when Protection obtained. The more equal distribution of wealth in Protectionist countries is due to other causes. Everywhere tariffs have been shown to operate in the interests of capital and against labour. Wherever the people of a country are dependent on foreign sources for any portion of their food supply, the tariffs operate to the advantage of a few large landowners at the cost of small landowners, tenant cultivators, and the whole body of consumers.

(24) Any prospective revival of trade and consequent increase of wages to the consumer from the action of Tariff Reform would be more than neutralized by the immediate rise in the price of all commodities, and we should be worse off than we are now. Protection can be repelled only by more Free Trade.

(25) The majority of the consumers, the working classes, would not be benefited by any reduction in taxation; and any action that raised the price of the necessaries of life would be an unmitigated evil. The greater proportion of the tax would be paid by the consumer; and the British manufacturer would pocket the profit.

(26) Those who say that the people can transfer their expenditure from other articles to bread have little idea how narrow is the margin of the expenditure of the poor. It is certain that even a reduction in the tax on tea, etc., would not help to equalize matters, because, while prices do rise on the imposition of a duty, they only go down slowly on its removal. Bread is the first necessity of life. If the price of wheat went up the full price of 2s. per quarter (as it would do) on all the wheat consumed in this country, a total remission of all the taxation on tea and sugar would not nearly counterbalance the extra cost of bread to the consumer.

(27) To stimulate agriculture (i.e.,

greater portion of the import duties would be paid by the foreigner, and there would be a corresponding diminution in taxation. Moreover, absolute beggary would stare the majority of consumers in the face if our manufacturers were ruined.

(26) "Man does not live by bread alone." If the increased cost of bread is met by a proportionate decrease in the cost of some other

article of consumption or necessity for the comfort of his life, although the price of a particular article may be raised, the cost of living would not be increased in the smallest degree. There can be no doubt that tea is an absolute necessity nowadays—and by reduction of the tax on tea the working-man could and would be put in the same or a better position than he is in to-day.

(27) Cheap bread is of no value to workers thrown out of employment by foreign competition. Moreover, it is certain that a moderate duty on wheat would not raise prices to any appreciable extent. The shilling registration duty on corn was removed in 1862, and reimposed in 1902, without affecting the price in either case. A 2s. tax on foreign wheat (i.e., on about 60 per cent. of the total supply) could not raise the price by more than 1s. on the total supply. It is not suggested that the tax should ever be high enough to afford any effective protection to wheat-growers in this country. Even if the cost of bread was increased, if the wages rose to a greater extent the worker's lot would be improved. This impost is put forward merely for the purposes of Imperial Preference, and of stimulating our Colonies to send their corn here in place of foreign corn.

(28) An analysis of the facts of the case shows that the free importation of corn is no guarantee of cheapness, and that the present fluctuation in prices which is seldom severely felt is far greater than any moderate tax would bring about. Cheapness is rather due to the conditions of supply and to cheap freights, especially from the United

make wheat-growing in England profitable), a duty must raise prices, if present prices are too low. A comparison of the prices of wheat shows that the prices in the various countries have varied from London by a little more than the duty imposed. Also, to protect English agriculture implies a tax against the Colonies as well as against the foreigner.

(28) The best guarantee for the cheapness and the regularity of our supply is the fact that it is so universal; where one supply fails another rushes in to take its place. High prices are due to a failure in the harvest; the wider the field from which we obtain our supplies the less the risk of an increase in price. Preferential trading must mean restriction, and to that extent imply a greater danger of interruption. There is no reason why our Colonies should not now supply us, and in fact they do, though not exclusively. We can always take all the wheat our Colonies can send us. The danger of dependence on the United States under Free Trade is a fiction. The Canadian farmers do not want preference. The fluctuation in prices at present is quite irrelevant.

(29) The wider the area of competition the more difficult is it for a trust to be successfully formed. Trusts can be formed in our Colonies just as much as in foreign countries.

(30) The consumer will always have to pay the tax; and thus the cost of production will in every field become greater; wages will become lower in proportion to the cost of living; and at the same time we shall not be able to compete on such favourable terms as hitherto with foreign manufacturers. Experience conclusively shows that tariffs never do remain low.

(31) Under a Tariff System, trusts will grow in power. Behind a tariff wall a trust has the consumer at its mercy up to the limit of the tariff, for the consumer can only import by paying the duty, and the trust can exact up to the amount of the duty on all that it sells.

(32) In those cases where the

States, on which we are becoming more and more dependent, though the period is near when the Americans will require all their own supply. It would, therefore, pay us to transfer a portion of our trade to the Colonies, which would guarantee an almost indefinite supply, and would steady the fluctuations in supply and in prices which occur under the present system, and assure us a supply of cheap food for the future.

(29) Most of our food is supplied to us by foreigners; the British people must pay the prices which the foreigner asks, and thus may become the victims either of "rings" or of "trusts," or of adverse circumstances over which they have no control.

(30) Experience conclusively proves that where there is home competition the consumer does not pay the tax if it is a low one, i.e., protective not prohibitive. On the other hand, increased productivity in the end means lower prices, as the experience of America shows us. This is the keystone of the Free Trade position, and is based on a fallacy arising from the fact that our present tariff is placed on just those articles where there is no home competition, and an increase of taxation upon which is therefore infallibly paid by the consumer.

(31) At the present time we suffer from foreign trusts, owing to the decline of British industries from unfair foreign competition. Trusts are not the result of Protection—they are greater in Free Trade England than in Protectionist France—but of inadequate legislation.

(32) The hands of the trade unions will be strengthened under a Tariff Reform system, which will ensure the workman getting his fair share of his employer's profit. The workman will benefit by more constant employment. When there is competition to get workmen, wages will rise.

(23) If we are going to adopt measures such as the eight hours day, wages boards, etc., which protect the workman against his

manufacturer does gain, the workman will not get the benefit. His cost of living being so much higher, he will be in a worse position than he is now. In this country employment is least constant in just those industries which are afforded a natural protection, e.g., building.

(33) Such measures have for their object the securing of a larger share of the benefits accruing under Free Trade to the workman as compared with his employer. If a tariff is imposed their effect will be vitiated—the manufacturer will get an increase in profits from the higher price he obtains for his commodities, and this will be taken from the pockets of the working-man consumer.

employer—measures which under the tariff systems from which they have been imitated work well, we must protect the employer against unfair competition with countries in which the workman works under conditions which are made impossible here.

### Unemployment and the Scientific Tariff

(34) The most crying social evil at the present time is Unemployment. Tariff Reform is the only attempt to attack the problem at its root, by shutting out foreign manufactures competing on unfair terms, and thus securing the home market to a greater extent to British workmen. It is no use providing labour exchanges unless there are employers who want workmen, as well as workmen who want work.

(35) It is possible to divert trade to employment-giving channels by the imposition of a tariff which discriminates in favour of those articles upon which most labour is spent. We have practical experience of this in the effect of the differential tax on manufactured and unmanufactured tobacco.

(36) Statistics show that there is a serious tendency for our imports to consist more and more of manufactured articles and less of raw materials, whilst our exports are being transformed in an opposite direction. A tariff will foster an opposite tendency, and will thus promote employment.

(37) Canada in her tariffs has successfully distinguished between raw materials and manufactured articles.

(38) The investment of English capital in foreign countries is increasing every year. A tariff will afford an inducement to capitalists to invest their money in British industries, and thus to pay wages to British workmen.

(39) There is very little corruption in France, Germany, Switzerland, etc.; and in the United States the greatest corruption is found not in the national government and legislature which handle the tariff,

(34) The right method of tackling the Unemployment problem is on the lines of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, none of the members of which thought Tariff Reform would help to solve the problem. Tariff Reform will increase Unemployment, because if the cost of production is greater English manufactures will decline. Any small advantage gained in the home market would be more than counterbalanced by a decline in our exports.

(35) Under Free Trade trade runs in those channels which are most profitable to the nation in its own circumstances. Any attempt by legislation to artificially divert the course of trade is suicidal. The criterion of "labour spent" is fallacious; as a matter of fact, a larger proportion of the price of coal (which is a raw material) represents wages than of any manufactured article.

(36) It is not correct to say that our manufactured imports are increasing more rapidly than our imports of raw materials, or that there is a contrary tendency shown by our exports.

(37) It is impossible to distinguish between raw material and manufactures, since manufactured articles are often raw material to other trades. Machinery is just as much the raw material of the cotton manufacturer or farmer as iron ore is to the steel manufacturer.

(38) British capital which is invested abroad is only that surplus capital which cannot be profitably invested in this country. The profits go to make this country wealthier. A large proportion goes to develop our Colonies, and so

but in the administration of towns, which have nothing to do with it. Corruption is found wherever there are corruptible people and institutions which make it difficult to discover and punish corruption.

### Retaliation

(40) Tariff Reform does not mean Protection. The blessings of Free Trade are admitted by all; but, without Retaliation, it is impossible to force other nations to adopt it. Free Trade should be maintained for all raw materials, with a duty imposed on all manufactured articles. England's one chance of retaining her supremacy lies in remaining the workshop of the world.

(41) Without Reciprocity real Free Trade does not exist. If the exports of those countries which protect their industries against us were taxed, we could force them to adopt Free Trade; or continue to tax them as long as they remained recalcitrant. In a few years all our commercial treaties, if denounced now, will have expired.

(42) Experience shows that we cannot hope to obtain favourable commercial treaties with other countries, unless we have something to offer or withhold in return. The power of Retaliation has become an indispensable weapon. If other powers knew that we were able to retaliate, they would be the more anxious to treat with us, as they realize that a commercial war would be fully as disastrous to them as to us. The new Japanese tariff will severely cripple English trade; we could have obtained much greater concessions had we had something to offer in return. The most-favoured-nation clause is often of very little value, as it extends to just those articles which we do not export, e.g., by the Russo-German Treaty of 1894 the Germans obtained the right to import coal into Russia at a reduced rate, but such rate only applied to coal imported by land. All our coal is imported

strengthen the bonds of Imperial unity.

(39) A scientific tariff, as experience shows, can never be secured owing to the corruption and pressure brought to bear by interested manufacturers in every protectionist country.

(40) Tariff Reform is only Protection in another form, since every import duty would protect some industry.

(41) Experience shows that the putting on of taxes by one country only raises the tariff walls in other countries; and does not tend to freer trade. Even if the principle of Reciprocity were adopted, it could not be carried out, since we are bound by commercial treaties and by the "most-favoured-nation clause" for many years to come.

(42) The importance of our home trade, of which no direct statistics exist, is vastly greater than that of our export trade, and we cannot afford to ignore the importance of this element, or to sacrifice it to promote exports. England has, owing to her Free Trade, always obtained the most-favoured-nation clause; more she cannot hope for. Yet by the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of April, 1911, England, even without the help of the most-favoured-nation clause, obtained many reductions from the conventional tariff.

by sea, and the concession was entirely useless to us. The Japanese in the same way have put their highest tariffs on just those commodities in which we are most interested. The greater productivity obtained by securing a foreign market would give us a firmer hold on the home market.

### From the Imperial point of view

(43) Except Preferential Tariffs, no practical method of consolidating the Empire and strengthening the ties of self-interest, which bind its component parts together, has yet been found. Experience shows that there is no other way of effecting this than by cultivating and furthering trade relations, which can be done by granting to our kinsmen a small preference in our markets, and thus enabling them successfully to compete therein with the foreigner. Our Colonies almost unanimously demand it, and it is therefore incumbent upon us to consider this side of the question very seriously and carefully before rejecting the opportunity.

(44) We ought to establish absolute Free Trade with our Colonies, and Reciprocity with the rest of the world. This policy would make Imperial Federation possible.

(45) There is a danger that the Colonies, unless there is some Reciprocity, will admit foreign articles on the preferential terms which they at present give the United Kingdom.

(46) A reduction of existing taxation in favour of the Colonies would not conflict with Free Trade principles, and would give a preference to all the Colonies excepting Canada; and a restoration of the registration duty on corn, which would assist Canada, Australia and India, would not in any way conflict with the principles of Free Trade as understood by Peel or Gladstone. It is not only possible, but the desired object, to give our over-sea dominions preference without taxing raw materials. Canada desires a preference for her wheat;

(43) Preferential Tariffs are more likely to split than to consolidate the Empire, since the idea of a Zollverein assumes that the Colonies will be ready to supply us with raw material in return for manufactured articles. But the Colonies are much too anxious to found their own industries, and fear nothing more than the competition of England. Hence while they are quite willing to give us a small preference as against the other nations, they are by no means ready to concede inter-Imperial Free Trade, which would alone make the Zollverein a reality.

(44) The Colonies themselves have stated that Imperial Free Trade is an impossibility in practical politics.

(45) The case for Preferential Tariffs from the Colonial point of view is a selfish one. Their chief hope of expansion lies in the development of the trade they already have with the mother country. If Free Trade England is successful, whilst the Protectionist Colony is unsuccessful, it cannot be suggested that the successful traders should alter their system. The major premise of the Tariff Reformers is the commercial decay of Great Britain. If, on the other hand, the Protectionist Colony is prosperous, then their motives in "knocking at the door" must be purely altruistic, and this not even their own spokesmen claim.

(46) Raw materials form such an important item in the trade of the country, that it would be nothing short of disaster to tax them. Yet, without a tax on raw materials, it is not easy to see how the Colonies could benefit. In order to give



Australia for her wheat, dairy products, and wine; and South Africa for her wine and tobacco. What Australia needs more than anything else is stimulation of her agricultural products; her pastoral land has long since been occupied to the extreme limit. The same is true of New Zealand. The Canadian or Australian does not pocket a shilling if he gets preference to that amount in the English market, but he has just that much advantage over the foreigner, and gets what he wants—certainty of market.

(47) Preference from Canada to England has proved of enormous benefit to the British workman—a matter of nearly £6,000,000 in wages in one year. It would have done more had we given preference in return.

(48) It can be shown that while our Colonies take an increasing amount of English manufactured goods, we are being excluded from foreign markets in an increasing degree. Thus it would be eminently worth our while to make a small sacrifice in the present, if any sacrifice would be needed, which it would not, in order to encourage and promote such valuable markets.

(49) Even though possibly economically not quite justifiable, as in the case of the Navigation Acts, which Adam Smith justified on political though condemning on economic grounds, there are good political reasons for consulting the wishes of our Colonial fellow-subjects, and for arranging with them a good understanding on this matter, so that the commercial relations between the Empire and foreign nations may be adjusted on the basis of Imperial Unity, thus giving foreign countries no opening for any attempt to distinguish between the different parts, or to penalize any part for its dealings in matters of inter-Imperial Trade. The action of Germany in raising her tariffs against Canada when Canada gave the United Kingdom a preference was not justified, as Canada did not put Germany in a worse position than she was in

Australia a preference we must put a tax on her wool. At the present time we can take all the wheat which our Colonies can supply, and every year the surplus which America has for sale to this country grows less and less, as the demands of her own population become greater.

(47) Statistics show that, in spite of the preference accorded to our goods by Canada in 1897, while the imports of dutiable merchandise from the United Kingdom increased from 4 to 10 millions, those from the United States rose from 5 to 18 millions between 1895 and 1909.

(48) The proportion of imports and exports from foreign countries and from British possessions remains nearly the same in spite of the growth of our Empire; and nearly half our export trade to British possessions is carried on not with self-governing Colonies which would be affected by Preference, but with India and the Crown Colonies, with which we already have Free Trade. Our exports of manufactures are increasing year by year. In fact, we export £2 worth of manufactures for every £1 worth we import. Experience shows that what we lose one way under Free Trade we gain in another, e.g., Coventry, once a flourishing silk-manufacturing centre, lost that industry, then turned to watch-making, and lost that, only, however, to develop a flourishing bicycle trade. The fact is, we cannot restrict the development of industry, which, ignoring the interests of individuals and places, finds the most favourable conditions for its own development. Protection can only prolong the agony in the case of a dying industry—not stave it off. Protected industries always need more and more Protection.

(49) The whole white population of our Colonies forms such a small proportion of our Empire that, while willing to do all that we can to meet their wishes, it is obvious we must not forget the interests of the enormously greater population of these islands, whose interests are

before. All she did was to say that the mother country is not a foreign nation. Obviously we cannot allow other nations to dictate to us what are to be our relations to our Colonies. The British Empire is one: foreign nations must learn that they have no more claim to treat the Colonies as separate states than we have to so treat Bavaria or Wurtemberg.

(50) England is dependent to an enormous extent not only for her industry, but for the food supply of her people, on foreign trade and on the undisturbed continuation of the same in time of war. The safeguarding of this immense British trade, and especially of the transport of grain, would be altogether impossible without the possession of all her naval bases and coaling stations in the different Colonies. How great an advantage it would be if the supplies of grain came wholly or preponderantly from the other parts of the Empire, and if England were almost independent of foreign countries for the food supply of her people, is evident when we consider that to-day the greater part of the British grain supply comes from Russia and the United States. How war can quite suddenly cut off the supplies from a foreign country has been clearly proved by the stoppage of the cotton export from the American States during the War of Secession.

(51) Tariff Reform, by making us independent of foreign nations, and encouraging our own industries, would strengthen us in time of war.

### Revenue

(52) England is over-taxed at present, and the only way to relieve this taxation is to raise our revenue out of the foreigner. The experience of America since the introduction of the Dingley Tariff affords a complete answer to the Free Trader's contention, for since 1897 the dutiable imports to America have risen at a greater rate than the duty-free imports.

at least as important. The paramount interests of the latter are cheap food and cheap raw material. It is, however, clear that, without a duty on the latter, a protective tariff would have very little value for the Colonies. The position of Germany was quite correct and involved no dictation. It simply was based on the consideration that if Canada refused to give Germany equal treatment with Great Britain she could not expect to receive it. As long as the various parts of the British Empire have their own tariffs, it is natural that they must be regarded to that extent as independent states. It would naturally be different if one tariff existed for the Empire, as is the case with Germany.

(50) The fact that we have a large trade with foreign countries is one of our securities against war, e.g., Russia might be deterred from rashly entering upon a war with Great Britain by a desire to preserve the British markets for her wheat.

(51) It would be very difficult for Custom-house officials to carry out any scheme of Tariff Reform, which would probably lead to goods being sent to England through some free port.

(52) The assertion that revenue is expected from the suggested protective import duties directly contradicts the main argument of Protectionists that they desire to shut out foreign goods in order that British workmen may make them instead, for if revenue is expected, it shows that Protectionists expect that foreign goods will not be shut out. In any event the consumer, not the foreigner, will pay the tax, and there will be a leakage which

does not occur where the whole supply is imported. Moreover, this way of raising revenue presses unfairly on the working-man, who would be thus made to pay more than his proper share.

*See also* FOOD SUPPLY IN TIME OF WAR; IMPERIALISM; SUGAR CONVENTION; TAXATION, INDIRECT.

## TAXATION, INDIRECT: ABOLITION OF

**Pro:** (1) Indirect Taxation violates the first principle of taxation, for it causes more to be taken from the taxpayer, ultimately the consumer, than it brings to the State. Direct taxation has not yet reached the limit beyond which it cannot be profitably imposed. The limit for direct taxation as a whole is not determined necessarily by the limit for the inferior assessment, since a different graduation can remedy those cases where the tax presses heavily, whilst at the same time increasing the revenue from direct taxation as a whole.

(2) It falls more heavily on the poor than on the rich. The test of the just incidence of taxation is that it should entail an equal sacrifice to all; and by this test indirect taxation must go, which is felt intolerable by the poor, but is not felt at all by the rich.

(3) It diminishes consumption, and so acts as an incubus on trade.

(4) It is an uncertain means of increasing the revenue: the income derived from it fluctuates.

(5) A tax is a portion of private wealth seized by the public power for public uses under the sanction of public force. Taxation then should be simple, immediate and direct. Direct taxation is all, and the sacrifice involved can be accurately measured. Indirect taxation takes from the taxpayer all incentive to check expenditure, as it deprives him of all knowledge of what he pays.

(6) It necessitates an army of inspectors, and is very liable to evasion.

**Con:** (1) Indirect Taxation affords a fruitful source of revenue, and could not be spared. When, of the contribution required by the State, the sum levied immediately upon the private fortune of the citizens exceeds a certain small proportionate amount, the wheels of the whole fiscal system begin to run out of truth. We are at the present moment arrived at the limit of direct taxation, i.e., it has ceased to yield the increase which according to its superficial aspect it should yield. The limits of direct taxation are the more readily reached in an active and complex phase of commercial development, because in such a phase the sum of individual assessments, however accurate, greatly exceeds the true taxable wealth of the community. In all cases of inequality it is the inferior assessment and the superior sacrifice which regulates the rest, and when the limit of direct taxation is reached for the smaller or the more burdened man, it is reached for the whole community.

(2) It forces the poor to contribute something towards the taxation of the country—an important point in a tax when there is so strong a tendency to allow the poorer classes to dictate what the expenditure shall be.

(3) It need be imposed only on trades or on articles such as alcohol, the consumption of which it is desirable to check.

(4) Income Tax and other forms of direct taxation also fluctuate with the prosperity of the year.

(5) Indirect taxation is felt much less than direct: on the same principle of human nature that a man

will spend in small daily amounts creble what he would pay in one large amount at the end of a lengthy period.

(6) It is not so open to evasion as income tax, or other direct forms of taxation. The evasion of income tax by some means that such incomes as are permanent, regular and publicly ascertainable have to pay for the rest.

### THEATRE, A NATIONAL

**Pro :** (1) The education and culture of the people is one of the chief duties of a Government. The stage is one of the most powerful instruments of popular education. It is therefore well within the province of the Government to subsidize a theatre.

(2) A National Theatre would be a school for the perfection of the arts of acting, play-writing and the presentation of plays.

(3) A National Theatre would set the best standard of pronunciation of English, and would become the recognized authority and the preserver of pure speech.

(4) The repertoire of a National Theatre would consist to a considerable extent of plays by Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Hauptmann, D'Annunzio, and others, whose admirers are limited in number.

(5) The commercial manager is at present, debarred by the great cost of their production, from making experiments with plays by authors untried in dramatic writing. The best writers seldom enter the field of the drama, for fear that they cannot answer the demand of the commercial manager for material which shall surely appeal to the great multitude. A National Theatre would not only create a demand for the best plays independent of their chances of immediate popularity, it would also by educating theatre-goers, create a demand on the part of other theatres for the best work.

**Con :** (1) The State has many other far more urgent duties than the establishment or subsidizing of a National Theatre. Such a theatre would have to be a large building, and good artists would have to be employed. The initial cost (£500,000) and the fund for upkeep (£1,000,000) would require an issue at least of 2½ per cent. Consols of some £1,800,000.

(2) The stage is but one of a number of instruments of general culture. There would be just as much justification for a national newspaper, a national magazine or even national publishing.

(3) The best existing theatres perform the duties for which it is proposed to create a National Theatre, satisfactorily. There is no justification for the state endowment of what at the best would be only one of a number of competing high-class theatres.

(4) Plays by Ibsen, etc., are quite sufficiently attractive to be staged with financial success by privately-owned theatres.

(5) The great body of actors, theatre managers, and theatre workers would suffer from the opposition of an endowed or subsidized theatre.

### TIED HOUSES, ABOLITION OF

**Pro :** (1) The Tied House system deprives the licence-holder of all

**Con :** (1) It is to the brewer's interest that the tenant should con-

responsibility for the good conduct of his house, and puts it under the control of a third party, in no way responsible to the magistrates.

(2) Those who own Tied Houses impose onerous terms on their tenants; and by making their tenure terminable at very short notice, keep them completely under their own control.

(3) The quality of the beer suffers, since the brewers are able to sell whatever beer they choose to their tenants, who are bound by agreement not to return any; and for the beer thus sold to them the tenants are bound to pay a higher price than the owners of free houses pay.

(4) The tendency of the owners of Tied Houses is to extend the system to every article sold on the premises—spirits, wines, tobacco, etc.

(5) The uncertainty of tenure and the onerous terms oblige the tenants of Tied Houses to increase their sales to the utmost, so that they may make money while the business remains in their hands; thus the system is a direct incitement to drunkenness.

(6) The system is illegal, since a licence, which is granted to one man, is granted to him alone, without power to assign it; and such transfer would be null and void; a brewery owning a Tied House in pursuance of such a transfer would be guilty of a breach of law if it sought to turn out the original licence-holder.

(7) Brewers, etc., very often fix the rent at a low figure in order to lower the assessment, and thus are able to evade their fair share of taxation.

(8) The drink trade, being a licensed one, cannot be compared with any other, and the publican must be regarded rather in the light of a public servant than of a tradesman.

(9) Brewers cannot complain if their "rights" are ignored, since, knowing the law, they yet choose to risk their money on the chance of the law not being applied. The

conduct his house in a proper manner, so that the licence may not be endangered. Tenants of Tied Houses are often themselves largely interested in them.

(2) No publican need take a Tied House, nor is it likely that he would, were the terms too onerous: that Tied Houses are the subjects of eager competition disproves all assertions as to the tyranny of the brewers.

(3) No brewer is likely to sell bad beer consciously in a house under his own name. Most brewers allow their tenants to return beer if not good; and, if the tenant has to pay a higher price for his beer, he gets an excellent *quid pro quo* in the fact that he has to pay nothing for the goodwill of the business, and gets possession for a lower rent than would be possible on any other system.

(4) The tenant is rarely tied for anything beyond beer; but, even where the tie extends to wine and spirits, these must be good or the public would not buy them.

(5) The public buy the liquor which they want—no more; nor are they likely to increase the amount at the bidding of the publican.

(6) If the Tied House system is illegal, why is it necessary to introduce an Act of Parliament to say so? Magistrates have, as a rule, declined to interfere with the system. In cases where they have interfered their action has proved most unwise; for instance, where the Crewe magistrates objected to a provision in the agreement fining the publican £100 every time he endangered his licence by illegal conduct or mismanagement of his house—though this was a strong guarantee for the good management of the house—they insisted on its being removed.

(7) It is a matter for the authorities to see that the assessment is put at a right figure; and it cannot be charged as a fault against the Tied House system if they fail in their work.

(8) The Tied House system prevails in every country business

publican has never been recognized as having a "right" to demand a renewal of his licence.

(10) The system has often ended in throwing the trade of a whole district into the hands of one brewery, or amalgamation of breweries, thus destroying all competition.

(11) The evils of the system are felt by all connected with the trade, and the system is almost universally condemned.

where large firms have branches; and there is no reason why a distinction should be drawn between the drink trade and others.

(9) An enormous amount of money has been spent by brewers in improving their properties; to hand this over to the publican without compensation to the brewer would be spoliation.

(10) No district is so completely monopolized by any one brewery that it can be said that competition is altogether destroyed.

(11) If the system were universally condemned, it would be quite possible for the big breweries to combine to put an end to it.

## TRADE UNIONISM

**Pro :** (1) From the point of view of Labour, the organization of the workers in Trade Unions is a matter of imperative necessity, in face of the fearful evils of low wages, excessive overtime, and inhuman conditions of life.

(2) Moreover, an immense growth of concentration or disciplined organization on the part of labour is needed to cope with the growing concentration and combinations which are so strongly marked on the side of Capital. For the maintenance of a high level of industrial efficiency, specialized organizations of workers are required; and this idea—the portion of the old trades guilds which alone survives in modern Trade Unions—showed signs of a strong revival at the '95 Trades Union Congress at Cardiff, in the Standing Order then adopted, by which all delegates to that Congress were required to be either present workers in, or permanent Union officials of, their particular trades.

(3) Unrestricted competition of workers having dragged down the standard of life among large masses of our population to an unprecedented depth, this great weapon of Trade Unionism has to be used for the purpose of raising this standard.

(4) The only available weapon for a worker against the horrors of the impersonal form which master-

**Con :** (1) Trade Unionism is calculated to set the workers as a class against the employers as a class; it is a weapon primarily of class warfare, and leads from rather than towards the true social interests of the whole community.

(2) It is not desirable in these days of minute subdivision of work to specialize the interests of the various workers by this form of organization, on the supposed analogy of the old trades guilds, which existed under such different conditions.

(3) The opportunities afforded by Trade Unions have often been utilized by clever and unscrupulous persons for the exploitation of the needs of their fellows in their own selfish interests.

(4) Although at the present industrial and social crisis the bitterness and standing dangers of labour disputes cannot be ignored, these should be met by the changes in the political and economic system which are slowly growing out of the deeper-lying moral revolution now proceeding, and which points to co-operation instead of to competition as the basis of organized social life: Trade Unions complicate these disputes by embittering the situation. As against the argument that Trade Unionism is necessary as a weapon of the class warfare, it may be urged that it cuts both ways: it



ship has assumed in joint stock companies, directorates, rings, trusts, and so on, is that of the strike of workers: this weapon can only be wielded by the workers when organized in Trade Unions.

(5) As a method of provision against sickness, unemployment or accident, the work of the Trade Union funds is for many reasons to be preferred to schemes of State insurance, or to provident or benefit funds worked in conjunction with the employers; the latter *may* serve as powerful weapons against the self-betterment of the men, in the hands of unscrupulous exploiters of labour.

(6) Trade Unionism as a present-day factor provides an admirable training ground for working-class statesmen, such as the needs of the time require.

(7) Trade Unions again form a powerful agency through their Congresses, Parliamentary Committees, in the pressure they bring to bear upon Labour Members, and others, for the furtherance in the political and Parliamentary fields of the workers' interests. Trade Unionism exists in all the civilized countries of the world, and affords an unrivalled rallying ground for the workers of all nations to carry forward their efforts in the direction of international solidarity of labour. The organizing of strikes forms only a small portion of the work done by the Unions, and is often necessary only when the Union is weak: where both employers and employed are strongly federated, the strike, though always a possibility, is seldom or never resorted to.

forges a weapon for the hands of the masters, who, by setting free labourers or blacklegs against the organized or Trade Union workers, can sharply divide, and thus more easily govern, the working classes as a whole.

(5) Trade Union action presses heavily upon the older workers in the industrial field, tending to deprive the community of the valuable use of much slowly and painfully acquired skill.

(6) While we look for a large improvement in political methods and the conditions of public life from the larger infusion into it of that working-class element which constitutes the real strength and backbone of the country, it is a mistake to turn aside working-class energies into the channels of trade conflicts and class warfare.

(7) The object lesson of America and isolated occurrences in this country show clearly that Trade Unionism has a tendency to promote civil warfare, which cannot be held to be to the advantage of any classes, still less to the cause of progress in the race as a whole. Further, the strike as a weapon of warfare is wholly insufficient to achieve in any permanent degree the very object with which it is wielded; (a) because far-reaching resources of Capital make the fight an uneven one, and shift the ultimate decision from the strike itself to the moral sense of the community as a whole, and (b) because organization apart, the repeating rifle and the Maxim gun remain available (as is shown by the Featherstone incident) for use against the workers, whether strikers or not, by magistrates and officials who are either employers themselves or leagued with employers.

*See also FAIR WAGES CLAUSE; EIGHT HOURS DAY.*

## UNDEVELOPED LAND TAX

**Pro:** (1) In taxing undeveloped Land its actual, not its present, value should be the basis.

(2) Landlords keep their land "undeveloped" for one of two

**Con:** (1) The best test of the value of land is the present rate at which it lets, not what a surveyor may estimate it at.

(2) Open spaces in the centre of

reasons—either because they prefer the amenities of uncovered land to a high rent, or because they hope that in the future still more profitable uses will arise. These landlords are favoured by the present system of rating. The collection of revenue by means of discriminating duties diverts consumption from the channels it would naturally follow—channels in general more advantageous than any that Government officials can choose. Under the old system much valuable land was held undeveloped or let at nominal rentals, in order to keep up the price of land generally. Under the new system, owners are more readily induced to part with vacant land, and the price of land generally is depreciated, and more easily acquired for public purposes, such as parks, etc. The tax on vacant land ought to be accompanied by a policy of acquiring parks and gardens for public use.

(3) Land-hoarding ought not to be favoured because other kinds of hoarding are not favoured. Land, unlike other capital goods, cannot be increased in amount. The good result to which hoarding in general conduces cannot be brought about when the hoarded subject is land. Any such addition to capital is very small.

(4) Landowners reap enormous advantages out of the industry of their fellow-citizens, and should be made to share in their burdens.

(5\*) House accommodation is intimately connected with physical and moral well-being; to discriminate in favour of undeveloped land is *pro tanto* to discourage immediate building.

towns promote the health of the inhabitants: the Undeveloped Land Tax will destroy many existing open spaces. Holders of vacant land did not often fail to sell it when they could get fair prices. The Tax on Undeveloped Land is an improper interference with the right of the owner to use his own property in what way he will, and discriminates against investments in land as compared with other investments made with the hope of a future rise. It was a quite unwarrantable attack on vested interests. (Some) An alteration in the rating law was the right way of dealing with the question.

(3) The community is a deathless corporation to whom the future as such is no less important than the present. Consequently, it is to the interest of the community that individuals should hold back from immediate consumption a greater proportion of their resources than, without artificial encouragement, they would find it profitable to hold back. Land available for the erection of buildings without the sacrifice and expense involved in scrapping existing buildings, can be affected in quantity by land-hoarding, and this adds to the aggregate amount of capital in existence. The difficulty of doing good all round is no reason against doing as much good as we can.

(4) Landowners do not get much advantage from public expenditure, as a rule, in places where there is much vacant land.

See also LAND VALUES.

## UNEMPLOYED, THE: STATE INTERVENTION FOR

**Pro:** (1) Since the problem of the Unemployed is an acute and growing one, and since the welfare of its citizens is the purpose of a State, the burden of dealing with this problem must rest with the State.

(2) Repeated investigations have

**Con:** (1) The proportion of the deserving Unemployed will be found to be small. The majority of those dismissed on account of bad trade, etc., consists of the less effective workers; these it would not be wise to encourage: with the small number of really hard cases private

established the fact that the majority of the Unemployed are in that condition entirely from the force of economic circumstances over which they have no control. Recent experiments in other countries have indicated that periods of unemployment for skilled labour do not always extend as severely to unskilled.

(3) Since private enterprise has entirely failed to cope with the problem, as was inevitable, in view of the gigantic dimensions to which industry has grown, the State must deal with it if the commonwealth is not to be ruined.

(4) It is the duty of Government to maintain a balance of power between the various kinds of workers within its jurisdiction; but the existence of this shifting surplus of unemployed labour puts the *labouring class* necessarily in a relatively powerless position, as compared with the *managing class*; to adjust this balance, the State must devise some means for the absorption and utilization of this surplus labour.

(5) As a result of the change which has come over public opinion in regard to the spirit of government, there has sprung up a demand that the State should register the demands of the public conscience; among other things, by assuring the possibility of human conditions of life to every one of its citizens.

(6) An investigation of the origin of the Unemployed problem in the large and acute form in which it presents itself to-day, makes it clear that it is the result of the wrong use of State machinery, on the part of the stronger in the industrial partnership, viz., Capital against the weak, viz., Labour.

(7) The contention that, because examination shows in almost every individual case that some moral defect is responsible for the man's position, therefore the problem is not economic, but purely moral, is false: granted that at a time when trade grows slack the men who lose their positions will be those who are, from one cause or other,

charity is perfectly competent to deal. Partly from dangers inherent in itself, and partly from its effect upon the medium in which it works, State action is an evil (though necessary within certain defined limits). All fresh departures in the way of extending it must be deprecated.

(2) It is a law of nature that some should fall out of the ranks in the struggle for existence. The State, therefore, should not attempt to deal with the problem, which lies in the nature of things, and which it can never solve.

(3) The problem of Unemployment is not to do away with it (for a reserve of idle labour is an essential element in the industrial system) but to lessen it as far as possible, and to see that the unemployed workman does not deteriorate during the period of unemployment more than need be. The best workman will not when he is unemployed parade himself before a distress committee: he is every day in search of a job. Any scheme to effectually deal with the question must cover all our workers, employed and unemployed, must be non-pauperizing and non-degrading. The employed of to-day may be the unemployed of to-morrow, and vice versa.

(4) If the State should intervene to supply work for the workless, until they could once more find a footing on the industrial ladder, it would tend to undermine those qualities of self-help upon which alone a healthy body politic can stand.

(5) The Unemployed problem is mainly a wages question; the men want sufficient wages to be able to lay by a margin for the time when they have to cope with frost and snow. The solution would be the grading of labour, and consequently of wages, more completely than at present. If the working men could be persuaded that, for instance, one standard was right for a man of sixty and another for a man of forty years of age, one standard for the thoroughly competent and another for the weakly or otherwise unfit, it

the weaker workers, yet, if all workers were of equal strength, some would have to be turned away because of deficiency of work.

(8) It is better for the community to endeavour to enable men to tide over periods of temporary emergency than to allow the worker to be forced to seek poor law relief, to drift into the ranks of pauperism, and to be ever after a permanent charge on the community.

(9) Nothing will be done so long as there is the slightest chance of the difficulty being met temporarily by the frequent and mischievous intervention of charity. Charity is being used simply and solely to stop the agitation for a serious national attempt to deal with Unemployment.

(10) We must treat the disease rather than the symptom. We must apply a three-fold policy. First, national and private thrift; secondly, we must face in future more scientific organization of industry, which will involve the classification of the various grades of the people who are unemployed; the Unemployed to be separated from the Unemployable, and both Unemployed and Unemployable to be separated from the physically unfit. The State will have to assume greater responsibilities towards the deserving, and assert greater control and discipline over the undeserving. Thirdly, we must look to the land and make it more productive. The system of public works such as the making of roads across the country from east to west, the restoration of our canal system (see CANALS, NATIONALIZATION OF) and State enterprise in regard to afforestation must be extended.

(11) The State can help the Unemployed without in any way making the burdens upon the Unemployed more than they can bear.

(12) The Commission on the Poor Law in no case suggested that Tariff Reform would help to solve the problem of Unemployment.

would tend greatly towards the solution of the question, but not, however, towards the general lowering of wages.

(6) State intervention, in whatever form, would dislocate the complex machinery of the world's markets, interfering with the natural balance and interaction of supply and demand, and handicapping the great industrial capitalists, financiers, and brain operators in the performance of their functions in the body politic.

(7) The Unemployed will usually be found to be that part of the population which, being unfit morally, physically, or intellectually, has found its way to the bottom. The question occurs, then, how far the nation can afford to burden its capable members with the support of the incapable, and whether in so doing it will not be helping to deteriorate the race by maintaining members who would otherwise die out, and also in removing all stimulus from those just above to keep out of this class.

(8) Poor Law relief is the only way in which the State can economically fulfil its obligation to prevent its unemployed citizens from starving.

(9) Charity must be relied upon to help those who are unable to find work.

(10) All large schemes for the introduction of State insurance to protect the worker are open to the objection of creating fresh armies of small officials; and would probably break down owing to the unwillingness to keep up steady payments on the part of precisely that class of person to which the chronic Unemployed belong. In Great Britain unoccupied lands are unoccupied because it does not pay to work them, and the idea is to bring the surplus population, who are the least efficient of the working population, to those lands, i.e., to bring the least efficient to work under the most unpromising circumstances. That being so, it would be found that such colonies would not pay their way, and they would really

become large workhouses in which people, instead of breaking stones, would till the fields. If the State were to deal with the Unemployed by undertaking large public works, it would be incurring too heavy a responsibility in the domain of finance, and aggravating the evils of officialism, jealousy, and corruption; neither would it be a help to the individual worker, who would not be able to work at his own trade, and would probably be inefficient at any other. The work would be costly and would probably throw such a burden on the rates as seriously to affect other industries. The Government tried to pull down Millbank Prison by means of the Unemployed, but failed. The experiment of the State providing work at a living wage was tried in France in 1848. There they set up public workshops and the rest of it, and they paid a wage at a very high rate. The result was that private enterprise was drained dry. The end was reached in six months, private workshops were injured, the men were no better off, and it ended in a bloody and arbitrary catastrophe.

(11) There must be taken an relieving the Unemployed not to magnify the numbers of the Unemployed by placing the burden upon those who are already in a narrow margin of the Unemployed than they can bear.

(12) The only solution of the problem of Unemployment is the imposition of import duties on manufactured goods competing with British manufactures. (See *TARIFF REFORM.*)

See also FARM COLONIES; RIGHT TO WORK BILL.

## UNIVERSITY REFORM

**Pro:** (1) The older universities should take part in helping on the work of educating the masses, who have been admitted to power, in the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. The ideal of a national university is that it should be co-extensive with the nation. "The University should," as Gordon said, "strike its roots firmly into the

**Con:** (1) It would be a gross injustice to exclude the rich because they are rich. The misappropriation of endowments is greatly exaggerated; only about 6 per cent. of the scholars could afford to reside without the aid of their emoluments; and the practice of surrendering emoluments is by no means uncommon. Already the

subsoil of society and draw from it new elements of life and sustenance, of mental and moral power." Oxford and Cambridge have become to an intolerable extent "playgrounds for the idle rich," they admit unfit persons and have no adequate machinery for getting rid of them, and the endowments intended for the poor have been largely diverted to the rich.

(2) Ordinary University legislation should be in the hands of those who are doing the work of the University and have acquaintance with its needs, and not of those who are accidentally resident within the University area.

(3) Prize-fellowships which practically amount to a prize of £1,400 (an altogether disproportionate sum, seeing that they involve no future service) should be cut down in number and value.

(4) It should be made possible for undergraduates to live at a less reckless cost than they can at present: it must be remembered that the undergraduate's expenses at Oxford or Cambridge only cover half the year. No undergraduate who wishes to take part in the social side of the University life can live on less than £200 and in some colleges £250 a year.

(5) The Professors, as opposed to the College dons, who are often appointed for other reasons than merit, should be given a larger voice in the government of the University and a larger share of its emoluments.

pecially gifted working man has his ladder to Oxford: the demand is to leaven the ranks of Labour with a University culture, and this is impossible excepting by such methods as the University Extension system. It is inevitable that the number of the poor suited to receive a University education should be proportionately much smaller than the number of the rich.

(2) It involves an attitude of self-satisfied exclusiveness to limit the conception of a "university" to a body of resident dons: the true University is all its graduate members.

(3) Prize-fellowships do not interfere with the efficiency of college administration or the encouragement of research; and it would not be permanently advantageous to confine the government of colleges to residents. They afford distinguished young men of small means a chance of getting started in a profession, and form a valuable link between the University and the outside world.

(4) An undergraduate, if he is careful, can live on £150 a year; and it must be remembered that this provides him with tuition, lectures, board and lodging and an opportunity of many games.

(5) The differentia of our older Universities from the other Universities of the world is that they are built round the colleges; and it is partly due to this that they have taken their unique position. The tutorial is far more educative than the professorial system.

*See also* GREEK, COMPULSORY; WOMEN AND UNIVERSITY DEGREES.

## VACCINATION

**Pro:** (1) Vaccination, efficiently performed in infancy, and repeated at the age of puberty, has shown itself to be an almost absolute protection against smallpox, while in the few cases in which smallpox occurs after Vaccination, the disease is always modified to such an extent as not to be recognizable in its early stage. Whereas, in pre-vaccination

**Con:** (1) The only definition that can be found for "efficient" Vaccination is that which is not followed by smallpox, for smallpox of every degree of severity does follow Vaccination of every other sort. A large proportion of smallpox cases occur in children under ten, and it has been allowed by medical men before the Royal



days, 80 per cent. of deaths from smallpox occurred in children attacked under five, and 15 per cent. between five and ten, this ratio has been totally altered by Vaccination.

(2) Statistics show an enormous difference between the relative numbers of cases of smallpox among the vaccinated and the unvaccinated, greatly in favour of the former, which also show far fewer fatal cases. The assertion that smallpox obliterates the vaccination marks is entirely without foundation, and entirely refuted by the experience of the most competent medical observers.

(3) The Registrar-General's annual returns show beyond discussion that smallpox has decreased since the general adoption of Vaccination, and especially within the last sixty years. Improved sanitation and habits do not account for the change in the age-incidence of smallpox, since improved hygiene affects all ages. While the general death-rate of the country has decreased 9 per cent., the deaths from smallpox have decreased 72 per cent. Apart from Vaccination, there is no reason why smallpox should be affected by sanitation to a greater degree than, say, measles or whooping-cough.

(4) It has never been claimed for Vaccination that it is an antidote to smallpox. The protection it affords diminishes with time; hence, revaccination is essential.

(5) Like any other trivial wounds, Vaccination has occasionally caused inflammation, erysipelas, and possibly (though unproved) death. These are invariably due to improper treatment of the vesicles, and can be avoided by proper care and antiseptic precautions. The risk is practically infinitesimal; if Vaccination were really the cause of disease and death, a crusade against the practice would be unnecessary, for it would not be countenanced by the medical profession.

(6) No diseases are conveyed by Vaccination, if proper precautions are taken; syphilis, it is true, has been thus inoculated, but always as

Commission that primary Vaccination is a very fleeting protection indeed; cases have occurred in which Vaccination had been performed a fortnight before the disease broke out. The claim that Vaccination mitigates the attack may be described as an unprovable assumption, involving a claim to know how badly each individual would have taken smallpox had he remained unvaccinated.

(2) Statistics show that Vaccination not only confers no immunity from disease, but even increases the liability to it, as was shown by an outbreak in London in 1884, when the proportion of vaccinated persons to the whole number of cases inside the hospital was shown to be slightly larger than the proportion of the vaccinated to the unvaccinated of the whole population of London. As regards the increased ratio of deaths among the so-called unvaccinated, the figures may be said to be impossible, for the real fact is, that severe cases of smallpox make the marks invisible, and thus the bad cases do not die because they are unvaccinated, but are returned unvaccinated because they die. It has further to be accounted for that, whereas in pre-vaccination days the fatality was a little over 18 per cent., it is now 35 per cent. among the unvaccinated.

(3) It is not denied that smallpox has decreased, but not to such an extent as other diseases, such as typhus and typhoid. The first compulsory Vaccination Act was passed in 1853; since that date there have been three epidemics of smallpox, killing respectively, in round numbers, 14,000, 20,000, 44,800 of our population. It is since this last and greatest epidemic that the great decline in smallpox has set in, concurrently with a great increase in the default in Vaccination. The true cause is the sanitary awakening of the people, of which the Public Health Act of 1875 was both an integral part and a striking evidence.

(4) It has been strenuously claimed for Vaccination that it is

a result of gross carelessness. That syphilis may be and occasionally has been transmitted in this way merely shows the necessity of choosing absolutely healthy children from whom to take lymph.

(7) If Vaccination were to any appreciable extent responsible for the inoculation of syphilis, it would be expected that a town like Leicester, where Vaccination was in abeyance for some years, would show a marked decrease in the percentage of deaths from syphilis among infants; yet we find that, whereas in England and Wales the infantile deaths from such a cause increased 25 per cent., in Leicester they increased as much as 69 per cent.

(8) The Gloucester epidemic strikingly confirmed the efficacy of Vaccination. Here, in consequence of the neglect of Vaccination, the severest attack of smallpox recorded in modern times occurred. It is untrue to say that sanitary conditions caused the outbreak, for the disease was confined almost entirely to the better and more recently built parts of the town; and the houses, so far from being jerry-built, had all, together with their sanitary arrangements, been approved by the authorities. It is also curious that, if the town suffered from bad drainage in any part, as was alleged by the anti-vaccinators, the deaths from typhoid were so few. The conditions at the hospital were not good, but there is every evidence from the statistics to show that the want of isolation was aggravated by the neglect of Vaccination having left the disease such a mass of material to work upon. The sudden manner in which the disease declined when Vaccination was initiated proves the efficiency of Vaccination.

(9) Vaccination with glycerinated calf-lymph is equally protective with infantile lymph, and is secure against conveying syphilis.

an antidote to smallpox. This is notoriously opposed to experience.

(5) Coroners' inquests have over and over again proved that Vaccination has been the cause of death. Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson in his *Archives of Surgery* records no less than 679 deaths from cowpox from 1861-93, or more than a child a week. If these are instances of medical carelessness, the doctors ought to be tried for manslaughter.

(6) It has been testified by some of the greatest doctors that, in spite of precaution, syphilis has resulted from Vaccination.

(7) Vaccination is one of the causes of infantile syphilis, though for many years the medical profession denied this.

(8) There can be no doubt that the Gloucester outbreak was due to bad sanitary conditions, especially in that part of the town where the smallpox was worst, and also to the polluted water supply. The arrangements at the hospital—which stands so in the centre of the town as to render effective isolation impossible—were disgracefully bad, and broke down utterly, a fact admitted by the Medical Inspector sent down by the Vaccination Commission. How much Vaccination had to do with the decline of the epidemic may be seen from the fact that, while all authorities allow that Vaccination requires fourteen days, some a month, to become an effective check, the smallpox had begun to decline sixteen days before Vaccination was resorted to on a wholesale scale, and had almost died down before it could have had any effect.

(9) Calf lymph is not safe except in respect of syphilis, since it conveys tuberculosis. As a matter of fact, the use of calf lymph has never been encouraged by the Local Government Board, on account of its inefficiency; the majority of Vaccination inquests result from the use of calf lymph.

## VEGETARIANISM

Pro: (1) The slaughter of animals is degrading, when animals

Con: (1) Unless animals, such as cattle, sheep, pigs, etc., are to be

are bred for the purpose. The conversion of pasture land into agricultural land would greatly benefit the nation both by providing employment, and by rendering Great Britain independent of a foreign food supply.

(2) The general recognition among educated people of the Darwinian theories adds special force to the argument against domesticating cattle for the purposes of slaughter; for, in the case of these, "artificial selection," with a view to the table only, is substituted for the healthy operation of "natural selection," and the animal is thus deprived of its capacity to improve and rise in the scale of being; and moreover, animals in a domestic state are more liable to disease than when wild.

(3) The process of evolution teaches us that man will have ever less to do with animals, which are a fertile seed-ground for disease, e.g., cows are largely responsible for consumption, whilst even parrots can deal out tuberculosis.

(4) The slaughter of animals is accompanied by much cruelty, as when calves and lambs are separated from their mothers; animals also suffer much in transit; and while the cruelties at present associated with the slaughter-house might be abated, they never could be quite abolished by the erection of public slaughter-houses, e.g., learners would always cause much suffering; all observers testify to the horror shown by animals on smelling blood, probably the cause of intense suffering to them. Alarm is said to produce creatinine (a poison) in animal flesh. Humane methods must always be expensive, and hence unlikely to be adopted by butchers.

(5) The work of destruction is demoralizing and therefore employment from which we should relieve fellow-citizens.

(6) Vegetarianism fosters humanity and gentleness, whilst a meat diet produces ferocity.

(7) The formation of man's teeth (he has no teeth wherewith to

used as food, they are not likely to survive, since land is far too valuable to be given up to the use of animals. Nor is it likely that a dairy farm would pay, unless some use were found for the non-milking cows, superfluous bulls, etc.; hence milk, cheese, butter, etc., would disappear from our list of foods. Pasture land would also disappear, and with it one of the chief beauties of the country.

(2) It is absolutely impossible for natural selection to have free play among the domesticated or semi-domesticated animals of to-day. It would be impossible to allow them to breed at pleasure and run wild.

(3) A world in which man has left no room for other animals is inconceivable. As civilization advances we more and more realize the interdependence of man and dumb creation, and attribute a far larger share of reason to, and feel a much truer sympathy with animals than in the past. The tendency is not to extinguish but to foster.

(4) Cruelty could easily be much mitigated by the substitution of public abattoirs for private slaughter-houses; a certain amount of pain is inevitable in nature, which, though we can alleviate, we cannot eliminate. It is quite possible to put animals to death without frightening them; and thus doing away at the same time with all the suffering, and at the same time all danger of infection with creatinine.

(5) The fact of a trade being disgusting is no reason for its abolition; otherwise, we should abolish sewers, drains, etc. The necessities of the community often demand the execution of particular classes of work which may or may not be improving to the character of the individuals who perform them, but which, by their nature, demand special training and skill.

(6) It is not true these diets have the alleged influence on character; e.g., the Turks and the Japanese are virtually vegetarians; in any case the modern Englishman needs more, not less, of animal spirits.

"tear" flesh food), the fact that he has not a rough tongue, and the nature of his intestines, which are long and sacculated as compared with those of the flesh-eaters, prove him to be frugivorous by nature. The apes, which are nearest to man, are wholly Vegetarian in diet. Neither man's strength nor his speed are proportioned as they would be were he flesh-eating by nature; did man depend on his strength and his speed for his flesh food he would have to be a carrion-eater. Again, the blood of the carnivora neutralizes acids more than does man's blood.

(8) It is quite possible to get as much nourishment from a Vegetarian diet as from a meat diet; for, while the consumer of meat takes, in addition to meat, largely proteid, a large amount of starchy food, the Vegetarian balances his diet by living on pulses and cereals which contain a large proportion of proteids mixed with starch; this solution of the food problem has attracted much attention in various works on physiology. No scientific Vegetarian lives on vegetables only; nuts and cheese contain no starch. Professor Chittenden, as the result of experiments on Yale students and others, has proved that a wisely-constructed low-proteid diet produces an immeasurably greater power of endurance than a flesh diet. (*National Review*, June, 1907.)

(9) The craving for stimulants in many cases is the result of the stimulative qualities of meat which induce a craving for stronger stimulants. Dr. Keith says the only hope for curing drunkenness lies in a non-meat diet. Mrs. Bramwell Booth has excluded meat from Salvation Army Homes for inebriates, and has since doing so effected many more cures.

(10) The poisons in meat, tea, and coffee produce certain forms of arterio-sclerosis, leading to premature old age. Sir Clifford Allbutt says that comparatively few people over forty do not show some such signs, so that it follows that a

(7) Man has so far risen above the apes, that it is as impossible to judge of his necessities by analogy from theirs, as it is to argue from savage to civilized races. Man's intestinal organs and teeth are adapted to a mixed diet. The argument from man's strength and his speed is fallacious: in the economy of nature, he was given, instead of strength and speed, his wits, and the gift of a mind rendered the gift of exceptional strength or speed superfluous. Man, like the pig, is omnivorous.

(8) It is of advantage to the human organism to receive proteid food in a more condensed form than can be obtained from vegetables; and the adoption of an animal diet has therefore been an advantage to the race. Vegetables are so overloaded with starch and cellulose that they are less assimilable than flesh; 17 per cent. of vegetable albuminates escape digestion, less than 3 per cent. of flesh albuminates. In order to obtain a sufficient quantity of albuminates from vegetable diets, it is necessary to eat an excess of starch far beyond the powers of digestion.

(9) The various instances in which a Vegetarian diet has been found beneficial are not cases of a general law, but merely instances of disease requiring a special regimen. The field of experiment is not yet sufficiently wide to dogmatize on the effect of a vegetable diet as a treatment for drunkenness. Some of the secret remedies, e.g., the Normil cure, have proved dequally effective.

(10) An exclusively vegetable diet produces premature senility and a calcareous degeneration of the arteries. The arguments against animal foods from a hygienic point of view apply only to their excessive use, or their diseased condition.

(11) While in theory Vegetarianism offers a new and large variety of foods, in practice the reverse is the case; the food habitually consumed by Vegetarians, and served in Vegetarian restaurants, is singularly deficient in variety, and cooked in unappetizing ways.

Vegetarian diet cannot be held responsible.

(11) Vegetarian diet is capable of as much variety as any meat diet can afford. Vegetarians have introduced to the masses new vegetables, such as haricot beans, tomatoes, lentils, etc., and whilst costly dishes are possible, the object of rational Vegetarians is to bring people to a rational simplicity.

(12) Poisonous waste products, especially uric acid, must be thrown off by the organism. Human organs can eliminate their own proper (i.e. endogenous) uric acid; but they cannot easily throw off the exogenous, i.e. uric acid introduced by the consumption of flesh. These poisonous acids contained in flesh foods, tea and coffee are known as purines, and the extent to which the scientific principles of Vegetarianism are leavening medical thought is shown by the fact that many non-vegetarian doctors now put their patients upon purine-free diets for various diseases.

*See also ANIMALS, RIGHTS OF.*

## VIVISECTION

**Pro:** (1) The healing art is dependent for its advance upon all the Sciences, but especially upon a knowledge of biology. The laws of biology can be discovered only by observation and by experimentation on animals, just as the laws of every other science have been discovered experimentally. Observation may suggest a law, but the proof depends on experiment; clinical observation is useful, but not a single biological law has been discovered through clinical observation alone. The assertion that these laws might have been elucidated without experiments on animals is beside the point; we are not concerned with what "might" have taken place, but with what has actually happened.

(2) Medical men are making daily use of the teachings of Vivisection. Such a simple process as ascertaining the fulness of the pulse is dependent on the knowledge of

(12) The majority of medical opinion is still against Vegetarianism as a general rule of life. It does not at all follow that because a purine-free diet is useful in cases of sickness and disease, it is therefore to be adopted as a generally wise regimen. The foods suitable to those in an abnormal state of health are entirely different to the foods suited to the normally healthy person, and it is ridiculous to allege that the healthy man ought to be henceforth confined to the menu of the sick room.

**Con:** (1) Medicine and Surgery are arts and not sciences, and can never be advanced by methods which are indispensable to pure sciences. The animal economy is much more than a piece of machinery, and the human stomach is not the least like a chemist's test-tube. The healing art can only be learned at the bed-side; and experiments on living animals, so far from having advanced it, have had a tendency to retard it. It is no reproach to medicine that it is but a wise empiricism. The element of life and the personal factor must for ever prevent it being an exact science. Every patient must be treated on his own merits; there is no other road to medical success than patient clinical observation.

(2) Harvey's discovery of the circulation was not made in consequence of his Vivisections, but, as he tells us, by a study of the position of the valves of the veins in the dead

the laws regulating blood-pressure—knowledge which we have gained through an English clergyman's experiments on horses. Again, clinical observers entertained mistaken ideas as to the functions of the arteries and nerves, until Vivisection showed that arteries contained blood, and that nerves were conductors of motion and sensation; anatomy, on both these points, had led capable observers into hopeless error. The oft-quoted saying of Sir Charles Bell is more than qualified when we remember that he did not discover the functions of the anterior and posterior roots of the nerves. This discovery was made through vivisection by Magendie, whose experiments were repeated and confirmed by Shaw. That the discovery of the circulation of the blood was due to Vivisection is asserted by Harvey himself, although no doubt his anatomical studies guided him to some extent. The Vivisections of Marshall Hall led to the discovery of reflex action; this important function was entirely missed by clinical observers, for though clinical observation "might" have discovered it, the fact remains that it did not do so.

(3) The surgeon who has done more than any man living for establishing the operation of ovariectomy—Sir Spencer Wells—admits his indebtedness to Vivisection. With regard to the localization of function of the brain, clinical observers had reached no safe conclusions, in spite of thousands of *post-mortem* examinations, until the experiments on monkeys of Ferrier and Yeo, Horsley and others, enabled them to map out the motor centres of the brain; for the monkey's brain reacts to *stimuli* just as a man's does. What was before guesswork was now founded on accurate laws. The fact that savages had performed both ovariectomy and trephining, and that such operations had fallen into neglect until the time of Spencer Wells and Horsley, simply proves how dangerous such operations were before the laws which

subject. Sir Charles Bell emphatically protested against the assertion that his discovery of the functions of the nerves was in any way due to Vivisection. He declared that experiments had never been the means of discovery, but had always tended to perpetuate error. No experiments at all are needed for demonstrating the process of reflex action. "Living pathology" suffices for the purpose.

(3) Ovariectomy has been successfully practised by savages from immemorial ages, and nothing can be further from the truth than to say that the operation owes anything whatever to the practice of Vivisection. Brain surgery was well understood by prehistoric man. As it is in the brain that man differs most from the lower animals, he could have learned little or nothing from Vivisection here; it was, in fact, by clinical observation and *post-mortem* examinations that our knowledge of brain surgery has been acquired.

(4) Although Pasteurism has taught us much as to the causes of disease due to microbes, it has been exceedingly barren in practical results. The failure of the Pasteur treatment of hydrophobia, of Koch's "consumption cure," and the disappointing results of antitoxin treatment, prove this.

(5) Vivisectionists claim to have advanced the treatment of anthrax, cancer, diabetes, diphtheria, glanders, tetanus and diseases of the thyroid, but the percentage of deaths from all these diseases has steadily got greater the last twenty years: yet the figures for atrophy, debility, bronchitis, consumption, convulsions, dropsy, dysentery, influenza, hydrophobia, measles, meningitis, and whooping-cough, diseases the treatment of which vivisectionists have not interfered with, over the same period show a steady decline.

(6) As very few, if any, actual medicines have the same effect on animals as on human beings, it cannot be said that we owe any exact knowledge of the action of



regulate them had been ascertained by experimentation.

(4) Vivisection has not only shown us the true causes of infectious diseases, but to some extent has enabled us to prevent and cure them. The Pasteur treatment has reduced the mortality among those bitten by animals *proved to be rabid* from 15 per cent. at least to 1 per cent. at most. Koch's tuberculin has given us a safe method of diagnosing consumption in animals when all other methods fail; while the antitoxin treatment of diphtheria has reduced the mortality by 50 per cent.

(5) In almost all the cited cases on a true reading of the figures the exact opposite is the case and the figures for appendicitis, alcoholism, premature birth, etc., go to prove the very reverse.

(6) The action and effect of drugs are the same on all animals; when there is a difference in the action of a drug on two animals, it is a difference of *degree*, not of *kind*. Chloroform and ether, for instance, have essentially the same action on any kind of plant or animal; and morphia will act on rabbits and man in the same manner, though much larger doses are necessary in the rabbit. Although anaesthetics were not actually discovered by Vivisection, such experiments have thrown a great deal of light on their action. Simpson showed that in animals the process of parturition went on normally even when the parturient animal was placed under the influence of chloroform, or when the spinal marrow was destroyed; this discovery has been the means of saving exquisite and prolonged suffering to thousands of women. The combination of atropine and morphia with chloroform, now so constantly used by anaesthetists, we owe to the experiments of Bernard and Dastre.

drugs to experiments on animals. Testing poisons on animals in criminal cases is, for the above reason, an unscientific and dangerous proceeding. Chloroform and ether as anaesthetics were not discovered by experiments on animals, but by experiments which Dr. Simpson performed upon himself (chloroform), and which Dr. Morton, the dentist, made upon his patients.

See ANIMALS, RIGHTS OF.

## WAGES BOARDS

**Pro:** (1) The evils of sweating were never greater than at the present

**Con:** (1) Sweating is an effect, not a cause. Wages Boards misdirect

time; and the only way in which this canker of civilization can be effectively fought is to fix a minimum wage, determined by a board composed of men conversant with both sides of the question, for each of those trades in which sweating obtains to a large extent. Thus, and thus only, can the standard of wages be effectively raised.

(2) There is no more important condition of individual and general well-being than the possibility of obtaining an income sufficient to enable those who earn it to secure, at any rate, the necessities of life. Experience teaches that the usual result of such legislation is not to kill the industry but to reform it. Low-priced labour is a great obstacle to improvement. It discourages invention, and removes or prevents the growth of a great stimulus to progress and efficiency. Competition must be met by increased efficiency, not by low wages. If there are industries which cannot be carried on if such a standard of payment is enforced, it were better that such industries should cease. The same objections have been made and over-ridden time and again at the passing of the Factory and other similar acts.

(3) It is quite as legitimate to establish by legislation a minimum standard of remuneration as it is to establish such a standard of sanitation, cleanliness and hours of work.

(4) The piece-rate should be based on a minimum time-rate. Wages Boards would fix such piece-rates as they deemed proper, subject to the condition that they must not be less than would enable the average worker to earn the minimum time wage.

(5) All laws are liable to some evasion. It would be greatly to the interest of the workers to prevent it: and other employers would be in the same position. The risks of detection would be great, and the odium to which a convicted employer would be subjected would be a severe punishment.

(6) The Victorian Wages Boards have nearly eliminated sweating.

our energies and create a cumbersome industrial machinery which may look well, but which will not work; only an attack in detail upon the several causes of sweating—unemployment and invalidity insurance, etc.—can have a permanent and beneficial effect upon the shortcomings of our industrial condition. Wages Boards mean high nominal wages and low real wages. Labour ought to concentrate its attention upon high real wages and low nominal wages, which is the true index of prosperity.

(2) The home worker has to compete with machinery, and any restriction on such competition will mean the end of the home worker's livelihood. The economies which make low forms of production possible are derived largely from the low pay of workers. If the same pressure were brought to bear on these marginal sections which Trade Unionism brings to bear on the well-equipped and organized sections of the same trade, the disorganized sections would tend to disappear as the increased wages put an end to the industrial conditions under which sweating is possible. The workers would be eliminated. That is what experience of the working of the Wages Boards in Victoria teaches us.

(3) To impose the condition under which work shall be carried on is economically entirely different from fixing the proportion of the profits of labour which Labour and Capital shall respectively get.

(4) It would be impossible to enforce the minimum wage rule. Home-work is necessarily piece-work: rates would have to be fixed for every conceivable description of size, design, quality, etc. An important phase of the competition between employers is the incessant endeavour to produce new designs, shapes, etc. Such could obviously not be submitted to a Wages Board on which competing employers were sitting. No magistrate could properly assess the capacity of an average worker.

(5) The laws would be evaded:

The statistics by which the contrary contention is supported are fallacious, because they are based on the old factory inspector's reports, and the wages paid previous to the constitution of the Boards were considerably below the average given in the reports.

(7) The Voluntary Wages Board in the fives and racquet ball trade was a success; and succeeded in raising the wages of the coverers by 75 per cent.

(8) Whatever expenditure is reasonably necessary is the best possible investment which Great Britain can make.

collusion between employers and the employed would be inevitable. Wherever there is the least collusion between workers and employers to evade the law, the inspection and enforcement of wage standards are so difficult as to become impossible.

(6) The Victorian Wages Boards have not been a convincing success. The reports show that they have appreciably raised the wages, not in those sweated industries for which they were originally solely constituted, but in the well-organized trades. The diminution of sweating in Victoria since the Eighties is due rather to the Factory Law of 1896 than to the creation of Wages Boards.

(7) The fives and racquet ball trade is not a fair example: there are practically only three manufacturers, and the Board was able to exert pressure on the consumers who would be willing to support a fair wage.

(8) The institution of Wages Boards means a heavy expenditure of the national wealth.

## WOMEN AND UNIVERSITY DEGREES

**Pro :** (1) It is absurd and unjust to refuse to women who go through the University course the legitimate reward of their labours, in the shape of the degree; and this refusal puts women at a disadvantage with men, in that, while the latter can in after life show their degrees as a hall-mark of their powers, women have nothing to show. A specially-created degree would have little or no value in the eyes of the world. Women need not be made members of the University. The authorities could easily make this a condition of giving the degree.

(2) The evils of mixed education are imaginary. In physiology, etc., women have long been admitted to the lectures with men, and the Professors in these subjects find no difficulty in lecturing to mixed audiences. These Professors are among those who favour the granting of the degree (*see* CO-EDUCATION). A separate University for women

**Con :** (1) Women do not, as a matter of fact, go through the same course as the men. To give women the degree would be to make them members of the University itself, for the University having gone so far could not stop there. Were women once members of the University, they would in time obtain a voice in the control of the University, which would be undesirable to the last degree. A special degree for women would give them the hall-mark without making them members of the University.

(2) Co-education has been found in America to be a failure. In England it only succeeds because so few women attend the University, but this is hardly likely to be the case long. There are many objections to teaching physiology, etc., to mixed audiences, and this course is open to grave scandal. A separate University for women would be preferable. Women could then be

would be open to all the evils inseparable from convents, etc.

(3) Some of the most experienced educational men are in favour of the change.

(4) The best medical opinions agree that study does not unfit women to become mothers, and that "children suffer from the sins and self-indulgence of their parents, not from their discipline, self-restraint, mental activity, and industry." Women's health may break down if they are worried with home duties during their University career, and cannot give undivided attention to their work.

(5) There is no reason why granting the degree to women should stereotype the education of either men or women. Admitting women to the degree might be the means of reforms in the men's course. Far from making the degree easier, the present proposal makes it harder for women than for men to take a degree.

(6) The women who do not wish to go through the whole University course would be as free as they now are; but there is no reason why their wishes should prevent other women from taking a degree.

### WOMEN, HIGHER EDUCATION OF

**Pro :** (1) It is unjust for custom and prejudice to debar women from the intellectual pleasure and strength derived from the severer studies.

(2) The best educated woman makes the best wife and the best mother

(3) The number of women in the country is greater than that of men, so it follows that many women must remain single. The majority of these must support themselves; and to enable them to do so, every kind of education should be thrown open to them.

(4) The laws of heredity apply to both parents; to neglect the education of the future mother is to lower the intellectual standard of the race.

(5) The demand for Higher Education has been initiated and maintained by women themselves; to

given an education that would fit them to be good women, not bad imitations of men. Competition between the sexes is not desirable.

(3) Some of the most experienced friends of the women's movement at Oxford and Cambridge are opposed to granting degrees to women.

(4) Women, as the mothers of the race, ought to do nothing which will unfit them for their duties in this respect — overwork unquestionably lowers their vitality.

(5) It would be a pity at so early a stage in the movement to stereotype women's education. This must be the effect of assimilating it to that of men.

(6) Women have domestic calls on them at home, which press on them far more than on men, and which prevent their spending the requisite time away from home. It would be a shame to penalize them in favour of their more fortunate sisters.

**Con :** (1) The physical organization of women is unfit to bear the strain of the severer studies or the excitement of examination pressure.

(2) Intellectual pursuits interfere with a woman's devotion to her proper duties as wife and mother.

(3) Approximation of the education of both sexes to the same standard increases the danger of female competition in the professions, and the concomitant danger of lowered rate of pay.

(4) The tendency of heredity is to repeat the intellectual qualities of the father and the physical qualities of the mother; so the physical rather than the intellectual culture of the mother is of importance.

(5) The demand for Higher Education amongst women is still very limited.

(6) The existing system of Higher

place any obstacle in the way is an unwarrantable interference with their liberty.

(6) Although the present system of Higher Education as it exists for men is faulty, yet the extension of it to women will eventually be necessarily a direct cause of reform. Women are endowed by nature with those intellectual gifts which are specially needful for the training of children, and make far better teachers than men. They have more power of sympathy. If women acquire a voice in the organizing of education, and mothers obtain an education which gives them a right to have an opinion about the training of their children, the evils of the present system of Higher Education will soon be remedied for both sexes.

(7) The educated woman may at present sometimes suffer from "priggishness," but that is inevitable in pioneers. Every year this becomes less true, and the great majority of educated women at the present day are lent an added grace by their culture, and when married, are able to be companions to their husbands in a sense which was previously unknown.

(8) Meditation on the scientific principles upon which her house-keeping rests will neither fill a woman's leisure nor make her an interesting companion to husband or children.

### WOMEN, MARRIED, AS WORKERS

**Pro :** (1) Women, married or single, have, as human beings, a healthy instinct for work : married women, therefore, as much as single women, and, in fact, as much as men, should be able freely to determine for themselves whether, and how far, they shall limit their activities to domestic duties.

(2) It is eminently desirable that married women, any of whom may at any moment become widows, should during their married life (as well as before it), keep up as far as possible their wage-earning efficiency.

(3) Since the economic helplessness of women has produced glaring

Education for men is so faulty as to be not worth having ; and far from women having gained by the approximation of their studies to those of men, in adding classics and mathematics to their curriculum, the reverse is the case : the education of boys has gained by its approximation to that of girls, in a more general study of English subjects, modern languages, and the arts and accomplishments, and by the consequently less exclusive study of classics and mathematics.

(7) Experience has taught us that the highly educated woman is not as a rule a particularly desirable member of society. An exaggerated intensity about their intellectual interests is a characteristic of the educated women : they talk about their pursuits in season and out of season. When married they are apt to be a source of conflict in the home rather than fulfilling their proper place as a complement to their husbands.

(8) The study of domestic economy is the crying need of present-day female education.

**Con :** (1) A woman, once married, should merge her own individuality in that of her husband, acting as a complement to him ; hence she should work only for him in the home and as the mother of his children.

(2) Decrease of wages always follows where the wife enters the labour market ; in fact, the united earnings of husband and wife may even sink below those of the man alone.

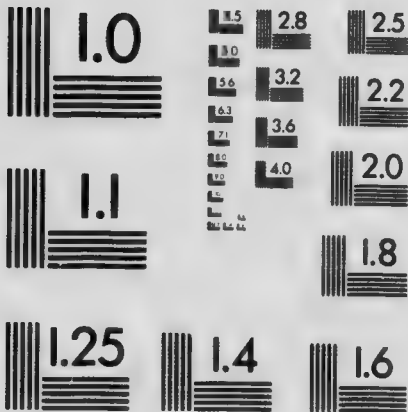
(3) Wherever and in so far as married women have refused to be limited in their sphere of action, the





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evils—on the one hand prostitution, and on the other mercenary marriages, with the attendant evils of divided homes and unhappy divorces—freedom for married women to work at any occupations for which they can qualify is a first step towards the ultimate removal of these disintegrating conditions.

(4) The universal testimony of trained nurses throughout shows that child-bearing is attended with far less suffering where the working energies of the woman are maintained up to the last, and her personal attention thus diverted from the incidents of maternity, than where the woman is discouraged from exertion; and it may therefore be taken as demonstrated that merely physiological considerations by themselves would dictate the advisability of admitting married women freely to the active pursuits of life.

(5) The refusal of liberty to a woman when married places a premium on the unmarried state for all women of character and independence, a proceeding entirely opposed to a vigorous social life and the continuous production of desirable offspring.

(6) Since in all departments of life woman's interests are affected, the limitation of responsible action to single women means the loss to the community of the most fully developed women as well as of the element of motherhood.

## WOMEN SUFFRAGE

**Pro :** (1) Every human being, male and female, is the subject of political rights.

(2) The recognized maxim that taxation and representation should go together is violated by the exclusion of women from the franchise. In the case of minors and lunatics, the property that is taxed is held in trust, so no analogy can be established with that. Those who justify the exclusion of women from the franchise by the analogy of minors and lunatics are bound to show, on other grounds, that the former exclu-

result has been a general neglect of wifely duties.

(4) Since child-bearing and bringing-up of children are the most important functions of woman, her whole life, especially when married, should be regulated with a view to this function. The alarming increase of infant mortality where married women work in factories calls for the prohibition of such work. Women are naturally weaker than men in brain-power and general physical force; therefore, especially when subjected to the additional strain of maternity, they should be kept to quiet pursuits.

(5) Work is not a good in itself, and freedom from work is a greater inducement and a truer liberty than freedom to work.

(6) Woman's influence loses its peculiar potency and charm the moment it intrudes into the sphere of male activities.

**Con :** (1) A human being, as a member of a community, is a subject of rights; but it is desirable that different rights should be recognized by different people, at different times and as attaching to different sections of the community. The vote is not a right but a public trust, and the State has a discretion as to the advisability of conferring it.

(2) Representation is not determined by taxation. The denial of the franchise to minors and lunatics proves that the good of the community is the ultimate consideration

sion is as necessary for the good of the community as the latter.

(3) The franchise is an essential element of good citizenship. To deny the franchise to women is to strike a serious blow at their good citizenship.

(4) Women are in so many respects differentiated from men, not only on account of the many differences of function which a complex civilization has developed in them, but most of all by the great differentiation of sex, that it is peculiarly desirable that the woman's point of view should be expressed, and the more especially feminine interests safeguarded by direct representation.

(5) Representation by others, no matter how intelligent, sympathetic, and trustworthy they may be, can never be a substitute for the mental and moral development involved in the exercise of personal responsibility. From defect of imagination and goodwill no class can be trusted to take care adequately for the interests of another class, and, in fact, women's interests have been unduly neglected by men.

(6) The possession of the franchise would make women a power which politicians could not afford to despise; therefore, the interests of women would assume an importance which never attaches to the interests of the unenfranchised. The franchise is a means by which the mass of women in the professional and industrial worlds could defend their interests and their right to work.

(7) The main cause of the difference between the earnings of men and women is the denial of political power to women. The enfranchisement of the agricultural labourer, in spite of the collapse of his trade union, has resulted in the advance of his minimum wage from 8s. per week in 1872 to 15s. now. In the labour market there are more men than women because so large a proportion of women's work is absorbed in the unpaid activities of married home life: the strength of the worker cannot be an element

by which the bestowal or denial of the franchise must be determined. The good of the community demands that women shall be excluded from the franchise.

(3) Good citizenship is realized through many functions. Some of the most important of these are open to women.

(4) The interests of women are so intimately bound up with those of men, that in safeguarding their own interests, men necessarily, throughout a large area of human interest, safeguard the interests of women also.

(5) Women are already indirectly represented by men of intelligence and sympathy, who have the interests of women closely at heart. Women's interests are not neglected by men in a legislative position.

(6) It is unnecessary to give women Parliamentary votes, as they already possess an important influence on the votes of men. Women can agitate, can speak in public, and can write; therefore, there is little chance that their point of view should remain unknown.

(7) The rate of women's wages is a question of competition between the sexes, which arises from causes which Parliament can no more control than the tides of the ocean. Without the vote in the textiles trade, represented by a member of the I.L.P., the women are paid at the same rate as the men; while even with the vote men are sweated in the tailoring trade and in unskilled labour. The low scale of women's wages is due to the fact that there are more women than men; men are stronger than women; there is far more competition for men's labour; marriage and the expectation of marriage affect the industrial value of women's work unfavourably; and, above all, the organization of women's labour is still backward and weak. It is also partly attributable to the fact that many women—wives or daughters living at home—can work and will work for a smaller wage than would be required for the maintenance of

in the fixing of the rate of wages for piece work: the competition for men's or women's labour varies in different trades: married women are specially useful members of trade unions (if their husbands are earning) as in times of industrial dispute they have something to fall back upon; and women's labour (like men's) is only badly organized where they are doing little-skilled and low-paid work. Where they are well organized their trade unions are crippled by want of political status.

(8) Woman is obliged to obey man-made laws. They have worked her great injustice in the past, and since some of the injustices under which women used to labour have been removed, the more do the disabilities which remain make themselves felt, e.g. the unequal laws as to the guardianship of children and the distribution of the personality of intestates. Again, all the restrictions as to employment in factories and workshops are restrictions on the employment of women, young persons and children only. This is a great handicap to any woman wanting work. The hygienic regulation of the employment of women—married women especially—should not be imposed without their consent, expressed through the vote. The factory inspectors are in no sense chosen representatives of women. Whatever peculiar advantages married women do enjoy are for the most part merely accidental survivals of a long and disgraceful tradition, and it is probable that they are outweighed by corresponding disadvantages. If it is contended that intention and regard for the welfare of women have played a prominent part in creating these exceptional benefits, it may be asked why spinners and widows enjoy no single one of them.

(9) Women are exploited by men under the present system.

(10) Legislation in England is being brought more and more face to face with social and economic questions, in which the judgment

the woman who keeps herself wholly on her earnings. This fact also makes combination more difficult for them than men.

(8) Since the Married Woman's Property Act of 1882 the law has not been unjust to women. Any readjustment of the law would probably level up woman's responsibilities to man's, e.g., as to liability for children's expenses, liability to contribute to husband's support, liability for expenses of divorce actions, cruelty to husband, etc., etc. The law leans on the side of indulgence to women, alike as to punishments inflicted on them, liabilities incurred by them, and the general weight of responsibility. A large proportion of the recent reforms in factory legislation for women and children are due to the reports of women inspectors. The work of married women in factories is not the concern only of women but of the nation as a whole, who are the trustees for and the guardians of the coming generation.

(9) Men are exploited by men no less than women.

(10) The questions upon which the Parliament of the country has to decide are much wider and more important than the questions that come before local bodies; the fitness of women, therefore, to elect members for the latter is no argument as to their fitness to elect members for the former. The services which women can with advantage render to the nation in the field of social and educational reform, and in the investigation of social problems, have been recognized by Parliament. Women have been included in Royal Commissions, and admitted to a share in local government. The true path of progress lies in further development along these lines. The political office of women should be purely consultative, not legislative.

(11) The intellectual emancipation of women is proceeding, and will continue to do so, without the enjoyment of the political franchise. There is no necessary connexion between the two.

of women would be most valuable. This has been shown by their work on School Boards, Boards of Guardians, etc. Women have been admitted to the municipal franchise. The results justify the extension to them of the Parliamentary franchise. The State is guilty of criminal imbecility in refusing to profit by this almost unlimited source of public service which is at present lying idle, absolutely wasted. The power of the few women of the upper classes who by their position and social influence are able to keep in touch with legislation is no comfort at all to the mass of the working women, who want to be governed by people who are responsible to them.

(11) The educational benefit to women would be great, both in the direct education of being brought into contact with political questions, and in the education of character resulting from responsibility and freedom. The mental and moral development born of the intelligent exercise of the franchise will enable women to exercise more intelligently and efficiently the various other functions which are theirs.

(12) The happy augurs of the last few years have shown that women do want the vote. Women who are indifferent to politics would be more likely to have their interest aroused if they had the franchise. Nothing is more striking than the power women have of adaptability to new surroundings and conditions. All the arguments in favour of the Suffrage remain valid even if men are indifferent.

(13) Women are potentially capable of just as much mental development as men. No two male sovereigns can be named who showed greater wisdom than Elizabeth and Victoria. If women can thus discharge the highest functions of government, why should they be excluded from the most elementary privilege of citizenship? Nor can women be excluded from the franchise on the score of mental incapacity, so long as we fail to require any intellectual

(12) The vote is not desired, so far as can be ascertained by the large majority of women, nor is the change approved by the large majority of men. The majority of women are quite indifferent to politics.

(13) Women are, generally less mentally developed than men. The State has not to decide upon potentialities when admitting a vast number of new persons to the franchise. Disaster might come before the potentialities had been realized. To say that the present tendency is bad is no argument for its extension; half an evil is better than a whole one.

(14) Women are deficient in public spirit; their judgment is more apt to be vitiated by narrow or personal considerations than is the judgment of men. Their sense of justice is limited.

(15) The opinions of women on questions of public morality are apt to be more faddy than robust. While home is a sanctuary, the world of business and politics is continually open to a purifying and elevating influence.

(16) Women have not, as a sex, the calmness of temperament or the balance of mind, nor have they the training, necessary to qualify them to exercise a weighty judgment in political affairs. A very large number of women would not use the vote at all. But in emergencies, or on occasions of emotional excitement, a large, and in the last resort a preponderant, force might suddenly be mobilized, the political effect of which would be wholly uncertain.

(17) Women are much more superstitious than men; therefore their admission to the franchise might have a most undesirable effect on the relation of the State to education and religion. There would be a tendency for the State to become priest-ridden.

(18) Force is still the ultimate basis of all law and social order, the final tribunal of appeal; and the force of the community is man. Those persons ought not to make

qualification from the male voter. To consider inferiority as an argument for the surrender of human rights and the denial of individuality is contrary to practice in the modern male world, where the tendency is to exaggerate the rights of the inferior, e.g., of the poor, to free meals, the insane to free asylums.

(14) It is to the interest of the whole community that women should have public spirit and the social point of view developed in them as much as possible. Narrowness of view, and family or local colouring of judgment, are best cured, whether in men or women, by participation in a wider interest.

(15) The exercise of the franchise by women will tend to raise political and social morality. It will introduce a measure of idealism into political life which is sadly needed at the present time.

(16) Women being—as at present developed—less speculative than men, their admission to the franchise might balance the natural instability of a democracy.

(17) If it is true that women would introduce a religious control into politics it is only an illustration of the neglect of their political education, and would be remedied by enfranchisement. That a religious feeling should to a certain extent make itself felt in government is desirable.

(18) The age of physical force, of which man was the prime exponent, is yielding in every department of life to that of moral force, in which woman is fully the equal of man. That women do not serve as soldiers in the modern state is due (as history proves), not to a physical weakness incidental to sex, but to the customs and functional differentiation of civilized society. An analogous differentiation exempts clergymen from service in the army, but does not deprive them of votes; a similar, or sometimes greater, physical weakness prevents, absolutely, old men and male invalids from military service, but is not made a ground for depriving either of the Parliamentary vote. Women

laws who cannot join in enforcing them. Women cannot become soldiers, sailors or policemen or take an active part in the maintenance of law and order. They are incapacitated from discharging the ultimate obligations of citizenship. As women are unfitted for military service, it is unfair to give them the chance of deciding questions of peace or war.

(19) The true ideal of the relations between the sexes is that the interests and aspirations of man and woman should be identical, the one contributing what the other lacks, in the great work of social regeneration.

(20) Political activity will tend to take away woman from her proper sphere and highest duty, which is maternity. The noblest type of womanhood is largely developed by the experiences and habits of motherhood and sisterhood. From the doll stage onwards women have been trained to bestow a large proportion of their time upon the art of family life. The specially womanly qualities have been fostered by every surrounding influence. The atmosphere of a public career is antagonistic to these qualities.

(21) Women should devote their energies to educating their children. Politics is an all-absorbing pursuit, and to give women the vote would undoubtedly tend to the neglect of home life: no person can actively take up a new interest without losing something of their enthusiasm for their old interests.

(22) Women would forfeit much of that respect which the chivalry of man has voluntarily conceded to them, and which has been their chief protection.

(23) The grant of votes to women cannot possibly stop short at a restricted franchise on the basis of a property or other qualification. Married women being the women, if any, best qualified to exercise the vote, the Suffrage could not be denied to them. Its extension to them would pave the way to Adult Suffrage. Every popular argument



suffer from war as much as men. The sole foundation in reason of the "fighting" argument is that condition of primitive society where in the governors of a tribe or a country were of necessity the fighters. In our present state of civilization no one demands of the legislator that he should be a "fighter" also. Soldiers and sailors are, in fact, excluded from the franchise. The whole tendency of civilized government has been not to emphasize, but to equalize, physical differences.

(19) In the history of sex the first dispensation left woman supreme: by prolonged processes of sexual selection she created man; by the second dispensation, thanks to the secondary sexual qualities which woman's aesthetic taste had created in him, man subdued and enslaved his creator, and became supreme. The third dispensation will show the dual sex of humanity—man and woman—mated for all eternity.

(20) Womanliness is a positive thing and not the mere negative of manliness. Patient Grizzel may have her admirers, but who would not prefer to meet Catherine de Médicis. When women are in no way sheltered from the severity of the industrial struggle, it is idle to hold up an ideal of intellectual aloofness and seclusion. Much work that used to be considered distinctively woman's work, e.g. jam-making, pickling and laundry-work, men have now found that they can do. There is no fixed sphere for the sexes.

(21) No women of any class really educate their children, they provide teachers for them or send them to school. If women are going to be great educators, they must not shut themselves out from any human activity, for all inventive and creative activity is not only good for men, it is good in itself. The idea that one power crowds out another in the human mind is based on a false conception of the working of the laws that make evolution by a gradual widening of the mental outlook.

in favour of Woman Suffrage (e.g. taxation involves representation) tells in favour of Adult Suffrage: that combined with Women Suffrage would mean a majority of women voters. To give the vote to women would mean a risk of entailing a sex war: divergences would arise between the two vast wings of the electorate.

(24) The vote once given, women would demand the right to sit in Parliament, to become Cabinet Ministers, judges, etc. Nor could the demand be logically refused. But the physical objections to women sitting in Parliament are overpowering.

(25) The danger which might arise from the concession of Woman Suffrage, in a State burdened with such complex and far-reaching responsibilities as England, is out of all proportion to the risk run by those smaller communities which have adopted it. Finland and Norway are the only countries in the Old World in which women have the vote. There is a reduced degree of domesticity among New Zealand women.

(26) It will tend, by the divisions which it will introduce, to break up the harmony of the home.

(27) With the removal of restraints it is inevitable that special protections should be removed. The franchise involves a duty as well as a privilege. Justice consists, not in ignoring actual differences, but in so adjusting necessary burdens with due regard to the lines of irremovable difference as to secure the most even distribution of pressure. What is proposed is that women, while continuing to do all their own work, shall take an increased share in that of men. Whatever tends to throw on women more than their natural share of the burdens of life must act unfavourably upon the children.

(28†) The presence of a large female factor in the constituencies returning a British Government to power would tend to weaken Great Britain in the estimation of foreign Powers: it would be gravely mis-

(22) Women are human beings and not meant to live on pedestals : their place is in the middle of contest and difficulty. Anyhow, the doubtful privilege of a column is only possible for the favoured few of a leisured class.

understood and become a source of weakness in India.

(23) It is a very odd contention to advance to a democratic people that because a section of the populace are in the majority, that is a reason why they should not be represented in Parliament. The idea that all women would band and vote together is inconceivable. Even in the present struggle for the Suffrage the men and women have not been driven into opposite camps. And in all the countries where Woman Suffrage has been granted women have joined the existing political groups. The Primrose League will not join the Women's Labour League to bring about the subjection of men. (Some) The very fact that the enfranchisement of women, if carried to its logical result, would enable them in virtue of their numerical preponderance to monopolize power, would present a strong barrier against Universal Suffrage.

(24) There are plenty of local governing bodies in which women cannot sit, though they have votes in the election of members. The physical objection, inapplicable to the question of the Suffrage, is obviously material to the fitness of women to undertake the arduous duties of representatives.

(25) The extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women has invariably proved successful. In Australia, where the vote is an established fact, the ideals of the woman's party aim essentially at the improvement of the home, not at the demoralization or "the desertion of the home for the hustings."

(26) It is highly desirable that women who are wives and mothers and companions of those who already possess the franchise, and who have, as such, great influence, should have that influence steadied and rationalized by political re

responsibility, and by the important moral education which such responsibility carries with it. If the home is not broken up by the differences of an unenfranchised woman it is not likely to be by an enfranchised one.

(27) Woman is willing to take the extra burden, and it is for her to decide. No woman could possibly be forced to vote against her will.

(28\*) The refusal of the vote tells indirectly as well as directly, stamping women in the minds of the unthinking as inferior creatures, and leading to the refusal of other privileges and opportunities of free development, till the *reductio ad absurdum* is reached of tacitly assuming that *any* woman is inferior to *any* man.

*See also* ADULT SUFFRAGE





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